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NATIONALISM AND FEMINISM: PROBLEMS OF EARLY CHINESE WOMEN REVOLUTIONARIES

by

(C) CHRISTINE P. RUNDLE

A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

To write about a women's movement would be misleading for there was no organized movement in pre-Republican China. This is a study of the efforts of individual women within the student nationalist movement. Their feminist aspirations were subordinated to their patriotic goals for China--all efforts towards female emancipation were directed towards building a stronger Chinese nation.

In order to understand the motives and feelings of young revolutionary women, such as Ch'iu Chin and Soumay Tcheng, one must look at the total radical student movement from 1900 to 1911. Within this revolutionary atmosphere decisions on education and careers were determined by political events in China and Japan. Nationalism, as taught by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Sun Yat-sen, was the driving force in the lives of these young students and emotionalism a predominant characteristic.

These young revolutionary women students were the pioneers of China's women's movements of the Republican and Communist eras and had an important influence not only on the direction female emancipation took in modern China but also on the role nationalism would play in these later movements.

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CHAPTER I

CHINA AND THE WEST

> The institutions of the ancestors cannot be changed. . . . We cannot preserve the realm of the ancestors; what is the use of their institutions?[1]

By 1850, China was showing all the symptoms of dynastic decline; and handicapped by these internal problems of over-population, famine, court corruption, bureaucratic inefficiency, and rebellion, China was suddenly thrust into contact with a dynamic Western imperialism which insisted that China be "opened" to Western commerce. Ill-equipped by her isolationism and lack of knowledge about the strengths of these new "barbarians", China suffered a series of humiliating and disastrous defeats in military and diplomatic encounters with the foreigners. China's leaders were forced to look for new ways to meet this foreign threat. Few understood the total challenge presented by the Western powers. Scholar-officials, immersed in a Confucian world, could not properly understand the values of Western civilization and early modernization attempts were piecemeal and hampered by the continuing hostility of the vast majority of the bureaucracy and court. Reforms were superficial and Chinese social and political life remained unchanged.

It was China's overwhelming defeat in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-1895 which finally shattered this complacency and forced recognition

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[1] The confrontation between the conservative Jung-lu and K'ang Yu-wei in January 1898. Quoted in John K. Fairbank, Edwin O. Reischauer, and Albert M. Craig, East Asia The Modern Transformation (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965), p. 391.

of the need to learn from the West. Chinese patriots saw their country's power and prestige weakened almost to the point of extinction and out of this intensified patriotism grew a strong movement for reform centred around the radical reformer, K'ang Yu-wei (1858-1927).[2] He turned to a reevaluation of his own Confucian tradition in order to justify borrowing from the West and a reinterpretation of Confucian writings to sanction radical institutional changes. K'ang's emphasis on "practical statesmanship" was meant to stimulate the scholar-gentry to assume leadership in reform.[3] However, K'ang still expected to incorporate these changes within a Confucian framework, albeit a revolutionary one of his own thinking. But, by introducing these new ideas to his disciples, especially to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (1873-1929),[4] K'ang set the stage for a new generation,

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[2]K'ang Yu-wei was born of a distinguished scholar-official family in Canton and was thoroughly educated in the Chinese Classics, although he developed his own radical interpretation of them as seen in his Confucius as a Reformer and the Ta-t'ung shu (Book of the Great Unity). He set up his own academy in Canton and gathered around himself a devoted group of young scholars who were to be influential in the reform movement of 1898. For a complete biography, plus a study of K'ang's writings, see Jung Pang-lo, ed., K'ang Yu-wei: A Biography and Symposium (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1967).

[3]This was the basis for the 1898 Reform Movement led by K'ang Yu-wei. These reformers were able to gain the support of the young Kuang-hsu Emperor and using Japan as a model, suggested sweeping reforms of the Chinese educational, political, and governmental systems. However, the One Hundred Days of Reform was cut short by the Empress Dowager's coup on September 21, 1898.

[4]For details on Liang's life and his role in a changing China, see the pioneer study by Joseph R. Levenson, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and the Mind of Modern China (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959); and the two recent works, Chang Hao, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition in China, 1890-1907 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971); and Philip C. Huang, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Modern Chinese Liberalism (Seattle & London: University of Washington Press, 1972).

which aroused by Liang's writings, made a more decisive break with China's past. This younger generation would replace culturalism with a new nationalism. They would not be content with preserving the empire in order to preserve Confucianism--traditional values would only be acceptable if they strengthened the nation.

II

The early reform measures had not only failed to rejuvenate China but had also failed to touch the lives of the majority of the Chinese people. The reform movements, which remained largely urban and elitist into the Republican period, had left the peasants' lives unchanged. They had also left China's women illiterate, secluded in their homes, and almost totally unaware of the political upheavals occurring around them. Few of these women would break out of their traditional roles to reexamine their place in a modernizing China and an even more minute number would actually become actively involved in the reform or revolutionary movements. But, those rare individuals who did join these movements were willing to share in all the danger and adventure of their plots and rebellions--their sex offered no protection but often intensified their sacrifice. Their motivations were a blending of personal and patriotic drives, which often made them appear foolish or foolhardy, but their sincerity was never questioned.

All of these young Chinese women (some of them were hardly more than girls) were students and as such joined a special group in China. The scholar had always held a special position in Confucian China as an

adviser to the emperor, a member of the government bureaucracy, and often as the link between the local population and the central government. He was respected for his knowledge and formed the uppermost elite under the ruling dynasty. The student in late nineteenth century China added a "cult of youth" to this traditional respect for the scholar. Accepted as the upcoming government official, the young student also acquired an advantage over the older Confucian scholars because of his modern Western learning, which was now recognized as vital to China's survival and development as a modern nation. The "returned student" who had studied in Japan, America, or Europe gained a new prestige, to which a very small number of China's young girls began to aspire as they started to break down the traditional male monopoly over education.

Although the majority of students saw their education only as the acknowledged entrance into government service, there were a growing number who became so disillusioned with the Manchu government that they would not serve it. However, unlike earlier scholars who would have simply withdrawn from official life to pursue their own private interests, this new generation of students was too involved in their nation's plight and so unwilling to serve the government, they planned to change it either through reform or revolution.

Concerned over China's future, these young students were looking not only at schemes for modernization but also studying China's political needs. As China's position as an independent nation appeared in jeopardy in the face of increasing foreign encroachment, the students no longer regarded her in a cultural realm but as a political entity competing with

other nations for survival. This new view of China's relation to the world brought into question many of the traditional beliefs and sent the students in search of new values to strengthen their nation. It also brought into question the rule of the Manchus as the students wanted an effective government ruling with the consent and support of the people. This further led into the problem of integrating the people into the new political scheme and the women students began to desire a new political role for themselves. However, a tendency to subordinate personal interests to national needs kept this feminist demand below the surface until after the Revolution. Looking beyond the political realm to questions of economic construction and social adjustments, women students saw their sisters leaving their secluded homes to share in the mammoth task of modernizing China.

The answers that individual students found to these basic questions reflected their individual proclivities, experiences, and interactions with other groups. Student activism often reflected their frustration at their inability to influence decisions in their schools and in their nation. Concerned about political and societal problems in China and painfully aware of the gap between their ideals and the actual conditions, the students often extended their youthful tendency to activism to countenance the extremes of assassination and rebellion. Their desire for a meaningful role in the new society and their awareness of their value to that new society led them to assert their right to influence government decisions and to assume a leading role in carrying out those decisions. Moreover, their search for new ideas to answer personal and national needs

coincided with a youthful open-mindedness towards new ideas and a tendency to accept simplistic and quick answers to complex questions.

These characteristics of Chinese students in general were often intensified by the personal problems faced by China's women students. Added to their concern with their nation's plight was their personal conflict with a traditional society which imposed family and social restrictions against their education, employment, marriage, and personal relations with fellow Chinese. Often their own personal tragedies and pressures increased their sense of the urgency of change to push them to the extremes of revolution. Identifying their personal growth with the nation's salvation, several of China's young women students set out on dangerous revolutionary careers. Their motives reflected basic patriotic and feminist aspirations and as such influenced both the 1911 Revolution and the later feminist movements in Republican China.

III

This paper will study the traditional role of women in China in order to evaluate the changes taking place at the beginning of the twentieth century. It will then present the revolutionary atmosphere of twentieth century China to which these women responded with a view to the lives of individual women who found themselves caught up in this nationalist movement. Finally, an attempt will be made to analyze the nationalist and feminist motivations of these young women and to evaluate the impact their actions had on the total student nationalist movement and on the social emancipation of China's women.

CHAPTER II

THE TRADITIONAL CHINESE WOMAN

"To be a woman means to submit.
. . . no remarriage after the husband's death.

"Women must cover their faces when they go out.
Boys and girls seven years or older do not sit or eat together.
Men and women have no social relations except through a matchmaker and do not meet until after marriage presents have been exchanged.
In giving or receiving anything, a man or woman should not touch the other's hand.
A man does not talk about affairs inside [the household] and a woman does not talk about affairs outside [the household].

"A woman is to obey; and the husband is the standard of the wife.
A woman obeys, that is, obeys her parents-in-law.
A woman serves her parent-in-law as she serves her own parents; she never should disobey or be lazy in carrying out the orders of parents and parents-in-law.
If a man is very fond of his wife, but his parents do not like her, she should be divorced.[5]

The position of women in Confucian China varied greatly according to the social class to which they belonged--as slaves or laboring women, as wives of peasants or merchants, as wives of scholars and officials, and as wives of nobles and rulers. Slave girls, as in most countries, were forced to perform any kind of work in the house and having no rights of their own, were more likely to be mistreated by their owners. They could be married off at an early age or remain as servant or concubine to their

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[5] Book of Rites IX: 24; IX: 24; X: 12; X: 51; X: 51; XXVII: 20; X: 12; IX: 24; XLI: 6; X: 3; and X: 12 as quoted in Wm. Theodore de Bary, Wing-tsit Chan, and Chester Tan, eds., Sources of Chinese Tradition, II (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), pp. 154-156.

master. Laboring women, who for various reasons were forced to work outside their home for small wages at such menial tasks as gathering wood, carrying freight, or bartering handicrafts, suffered economic privation but had greater freedom of movement than women of wealthier classes who were secluded in their homes.[6]

Peasant women also enjoyed greater freedom of movement as their everyday activities brought them out of their homes to share their husbands' labors in the fields or to do their own marketing and household chores of washing, and cleaning in closer contact with their neighbors. However, their primary occupations--spinning, weaving, tending silkworms, cooking, and caring for the children--tied them closely to the home and the extent of these labors left them little time for relaxed social intercourse. The wives of merchants also shared some of this freedom as they helped their husbands in their businesses but their tasks were usually lighter and their goal to assume the leisurely life of the upper class women.

It was the women of the scholar-gentry and noble classes who led the traditionally accepted life within--secluded in their homes where they generally occupied themselves with the management of a large family

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[6] In South China, especially in Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Fukien, the women enjoyed more freedom and influence than in the rest of the country. Women there had always worked in the fields and also served as coolies, boatmen, and performed other manual tasks. These working women never accepted foot-binding and some even protested against the old marriage practices. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946), p. 53. The relative social freedom enjoyed by some of these women would later be held up as an example of what women could attain with economic independence.

home and servants, where they perfected their needlework, calligraphy, music and painting, and where they might occasionally entertain women friends or relatives. They scarcely ever left the seclusion of the women's apartments and if they did go out, it was in a carriage with curtains on it and sufficient precautions had to be taken to ensure the safety and propriety of the lady traveller.[7] Thus, it was only in the upper social classes that Chinese women actually led the lives portrayed as characteristic of China. However, it was this life, which was in fact known by only a small number of China's women, which was accepted by the Chinese as the ideal, along with the extended family. Although it could never be practiced by the great majority of her women, the moral and social implications of this ideal affected all of China's women in varying degrees.

A Chinese woman of any class lived under certain traditional limitations which tended to relegate her to an inferior position in society and make her dependent on the males in her family. She was regarded as only a temporary member of her natal family and would be lost to them upon her marriage when she became a member of her husband's family. As an individual she had no status but was recognized according to her husband's rank in his family. She was cut off from practically all contact with other men and secluded from all political, economic, and

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[7]Descriptions of social positions of women in China and their relative freedoms from Albert Richard O'Hara, The Positions of Women in Early China (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1945), p. 261.

social activities. Denied an education, she was further discouraged from developing any talent or ability beyond those useful to her husband's family. Having no property rights nor skill with which to support herself, she was virtually dependent on men. This traditional economic and social position was further sanctified by Confucian precepts and books designated for the teaching of women.

> Once when I was about five or six years old, I found a book in my elder sister's room called Lieh-nu chuan (Lives of Virtuous Women). I was too young read, but I looked at the illustrations which were full of beautiful women in ancient costumes. Something terrible was happening to everyone of them. One was cutting off her hand with a knife, one was burning to death, one was floating drowned in the water, one stabbing her throat with a pair of scissors, one hanging herself in her bed-chamber. Such terrible pictures! I did not understand them and asked my sisters. They told me that the book was about models of female virtue and that all young women were supposed to read about them and emulate them. I still did not understand. I asked my mother and she explained to me: that is a widow--she is cutting off her hand because a strange man has touched it; that is an imperial concubine--the palace caught fire but since she was forbidden to walk out without an escort she allowed herself to be burned to death in the flames, and so on. But why? I demanded over and over again . . . My mother tried to make me see, but I refused to be convinced.[8]

The Lieh-nu chuan was perhaps the most famous book of instruction for women and its texts and illustrations were frequently painted on Chinese ornamental screens and on the walls of rooms. This was also done in the palace so that emperors might remember the advantages of virtuous women and the dangers of dissolute ones. And, for centuries it was customary to place the Lieh-nu chuan in the hands of all Chinese ladies who

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[8] Quoting Pa Chin, Olga Lang, Pa Chin and His Writings (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 16.

could read for the examples of good or bad conduct it presented.[9]

In 1591 Lu Hsin-wu compiled the Kuei-fan (Within Baton Door Standards)[10] from a selection of these tales of virtuous women. The selected biographies were annotated and enlarged upon by Lu through the use of long quotations from the Classics dealing with the social relations of women. The first biographies were of virtuous maidens who followed paths of filial piety, daring,[11] chastity, incorruptibility, morality, and literary accomplishment. These were followed by examples of proper conduct between husbands and wives, where they not only lived in harmony but where the wife accepted responsibility for correcting her husband's faults. There were also examples of wives with the four virtues of chaste and upright behavior, agreeable speech, ability at the women's occupations of embroidery and handicrafts, and a restrained yet exquisite carriage and appearance.

Other dictums for women's conduct included the Nu Chieh (Instruction for Women) written by Pan Chao (50-112 A. D.),[12] Nu Lun Yu (Analects for Women) written by Sung Jo Chao (785-805), Nu Fan Chieh Lu (Short Records

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[9]The Lieh-nu chuan was written by Liu Hsiang (ca 80-7 B. C.) about 32 B. C. O'Hara, Position of Women, p. 9.

[10]The Kuei Fan is translated in Florence Ayscough, Chinese Women Yesterday and Today (London: Jonathon Cape, Ltd., 1938).

[11]Daring or lieh-nu referred to women who were chaste and brave, willing to die rather than yield themselves to dishonor.

[12]Pan Chao and her work will be discussed in detail below, pp. 30-33.

of Exemplary Women) by Wang Chieh Fu (970-1027), and Nei Hsun (Teaching of the Inner Courts) written by Jen Hsiao in 1404. All were written by women to simplify and explain the doctrines of the Classics and to provide examples to be imitated by girls of their generations.[13] These "Four Classics for Girls" were used as textbooks for the education of girls for centuries and all emphasized the basic virtues of obedience, timidity, reticence, and adaptability. The three rules of obedience stated that an unmarried girl must obey her father and elder brother; a married woman, her husband; and a widow, her son. Moreover, a woman must practice filial piety and humility first in her own family and more importantly, upon her marriage into her husband's family. Separation of the sexes was to be strictly adhered to, with women to remain secluded in their own apartments under the dictum, "news from the outside shall not penetrate into the household and news from within shall not become known outside."

Although the Book of Odes praised the union of husband and wife, the obtaining of offspring was the prime goal. Their marriage was primarily a family affair and her relations with her parents-in-law took precedence over her relations with her husband. There was little interest shown in the education of girls as it was considered sufficient if they knew how to please their husband and in-laws, raise young children, and perform the necessary household tasks. They were not expected to share their husband's intellectual interests nor meddle with his activities

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[13] Ida Belle Lewis, The Education of Girls in China (New York: Columbia University Teachers College, 1919), p. 7.

outside the home (this was stressed especially for the royal family where court intrigue by a wife's family could mean disaster for the emperor). With this lack of common interests and mutual understanding, the problems of an arranged marriage were aggravated with husbands often looking beyond the home for compatible female companionship.

These books of conduct for Chinese women raise the controversial question of woman's inferiority in traditional China. Many early Christian missionaries pointed to female infanticide, the selling of female children, footbinding, and the impossibility of divorce or remarriage for women as conclusive evidence of woman's inferior position in relation to man. Following the same theme, modern feminist writers, stating that "it seems to be a universal rule that when men have established themselves as rulers, they proceed at once to make laws and evolve doctrines to limit the freedom and power of women," point to the Book of Propriety from Han China as the beginning of man's planned predominance over women. Sophia Zen concludes that "the movement was so subtle that even such an educated woman as Pan Chao deprecated woman's independence."[14] Although during the T'ang dynasty several women actually usurped power, this only led to further limitations on their freedom. Dictums of absolute obedience of women to men, contentedness in an ignorant and limited home life, and utter self-abandonment in the service of the husband's family were widely taught during the Sung dynasty when women's

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[14]Sophia H. Chen Zen, Symposium on Chinese Culture (Shanghai: China Institute of Pacific Relations, 1931), p. 282.

freedoms were further reduced.[15] Chu Hsi's new orthodox philosophy

> Interpreted the Classics in such a way that an entirely new meaning was put into the Confucian ideals of womanhood. Chastity and absolute loyalty to one man was made the cardinal virtue of a woman. Everything else must be subordinated to it.[16]

However, this is only one part of the picture of the life of Chinese women in Confucian China. China was certainly not the only country to differentiate between the position of men and women and certainly not the only country seemingly to place women in an inferior place. However, this does not necessarily mean that Chinese women were totally without rights nor left without social protections. Olga Lang has written that the birth of a daughter was not the joyful occasion of the birth of a son. "Since girls worked less than boys and were lost to the family after marriage, they were a bad economic and emotional investment." The emphasis on producing a male heir was tied into the needs of Confucian ancestor-worship, which depended on a male descendent to perform the necessary sacrifices to provide for the needs of the departed ancestors and the present needs of the family. A girl could not perform these sacrifices as she was only a guest in her father's house until her

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[15] For example, under the Sung remarriage practically ceased. Although prior to this time widowed or divorced women had commonly remarried and this occurrence was recorded without comment in the early histories, Sung writers began to condemn it. Some women were still forced to remarry because of economic pressures but they faced social censure.

[16] Zen, Chinese Culture, p. 283.

marriage and then must assume her responsibilities to her husband's clan.[17]

On the question of female infanticide, Albert Richard O'Hara has written that the Chinese rarely abandoned their female children except in the face of extreme economic stress or because of some superstitious fear. "If it is necessary for a Chinese family to sacrifice one of its own members that the family may continue to exist, naturally the one less valuable to itself will be abandoned."[18] Because fathers needed sons to carry on the family name and sacrifice to the ancestors, girls were the first to be abandoned or sold. However, if these family needs were fulfilled, Chinese fathers often showed a special affection for their little daughters.[19] These little daughters who became the favorites of their scholar-literati fathers were often taught books of poems and the Classics with their brothers and given a chance to cultivate the "four arts" of music, chess, calligraphy, and painting. However, by the time a young

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[17]Lang, Chinese Family, p. 46.

[18]O'Hara, Position of Women, p. 266. This comment that girl infanticide was the result of extreme poverty rather than a slight on women as such is corroborated by some contemporary writers who further write of little daughters being much petted by their fathers. See Mrs. Timothy Richard, "The Christian and Chinese Idea of Womanhood and How our Mission Schools May Help to Develop the Former Idea," Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal, XXXI: 2 (February, 1900), pp. 55-56.

[19]There are numerous examples of this special relationship between fathers and daughters chronicled by O'Hara, Position of Women, p. 266; Ayscough, Chinese Women, pp. 6-11; Sophia H. Chen Zen, The Chinese Woman and Other Essays (no publisher given, 1932); and Soumay Tcheng, to be discussed in detail below, pp. 130-131, describes herself as a young daughter spoilt by a doting father.

girl turned fifteen or sixteen, her time and attention turned to marriage preparations and after marriage household duties took precedence over these other abilities. The emphasis on the four virtues of moral excellence, refined speech, good manners, and practical ability usually kept the interests of a traditional Chinese woman confined to her home and family.[20]

Albert Richard O'Hara looked beyond these specific charges of inferiority to study the principles of yin and yang[21] and their relation to the position of women in China.

> Now I have been unable to find any data from Chinese sources which would show that the Chinese considered the Yin or female principle as evil or inferior in the sense in which we generally take the word. Inferior it is in one sense but it is with the connotation of inferiority that one finds in the less dominant of two necessary principles, namely the inferiority of receptiveness as opposed to the superiority of activeness. Ancient Chinese philosophy taught that by the interaction of the principles of Yang and Yin, everything in this visible world was produced and this teaching postulates the nearly equal importance of the

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[20]As Sophia Zen points out, marriage was always the final destiny for a Chinese woman. "To her, it is her one and only destiny, her completion of life, and her meaning of existence." After marriage, the wife acquires the social status of her husband and her position is raised only by the birth of a son. Sophia Zen concludes, "The stunted growth of Chinese womanhood may be said to owe its origin to the psychological suggestion of society that a virtuous woman should be obedient, quiet, self-effacing, and ignorant, devoting herself only to the service of the family. There is no actual persecution or suppression of feminine activities. A woman under such hypnotic suggestion really does feel that only by striving after such an ideal can she find her true self." Zen, Chinese Culture, pp. 285-286.

[21]The principle of yin was represented by shade, darkness, moon, water, weakness or yielding, depth, and all things feminine; whereas yang was represented by light, brightness, sun, strength, fortitude, and all things masculine.

> functions of each principle . . . Yin and Yang, like woman and man, are necessary to each other; they are antithetical and indispensable to each other.[22]

Although there can be no doubt about the duality of yin and yang and their relation of equality through interacting principles, the status of women depended more upon their recognized rights and duties and on their liberties and opportunities in domestic, economic, social, political, and religious spheres rather than on their metaphysical standing. In the home, did they have equal rights with other family members, how were they treated, were they consulted in family decisions, and did they have equal divorce and property rights or choice in marriage--all these elements reflect their status in the Chinese family system. Further, were women entitled to a social life beyond the home and were they allowed to play a role in the political and religious life of the community? For example, although the concubine in China had no legal status as such, her life provided more leisure than that enjoyed by the farmer's wife; yet the farmer's wife had greater freedom of association and more security as a legal wife. And, although a man might divorce his wife theoretically for any of seven reasons, he seldom resorted to divorce or legal separation because of the complexities of family relations. Social practice did not always conform strictly to the laws set down, and intrapersonal relations always reflected the highly individual characters of the people involved. The Chinese family mirrored this fact most clearly.

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[22] O'Hara, Position of Women, pp. 159-160.

> For the traditional Chinese family marriage was not so much an affair of the matured children as an affair of the parents and of the family, with its chief purpose not so much the romantic happiness of the marrying children but fulfilling the sacred duty of producing male heirs for the perpetuation of the ancestors' lineage, the acquiring of a daughter-in-law for the service and comfort of the parents, and the begetting of sons for the security of the parents' old age. Marriage was not a crisis in which a family unit might be reduced and split by the departure of the married son; rather, it was an event not only to expand the family but also to provide additional protection and security to the family unit. To fulfill this purpose marriage could not be allowed to transfer the centre of affection, loyalty, and authority from the parents to the new couple. Hence the traditional discouragement of open affection between husband and wife, particularly when they were newlywed. In every way marriage and its ensuing relationships remained subordinated to the welfare and happiness of the parents and the continuity of the family organization.[23]

By the time a young girl reached puberty she was either betrothed to a man she would not see until her marriage or her parents were busy consulting with a go-between to arrange a suitable marriage for her.[24] No matter what her previous interests might have been, the young daughter was now expected to turn her attention to marriage preparations and entrance into a new family.[25] Her personal preferences in marriage were

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[23] C. K. Yang, Chinese Communist Society: The Family and the Village (Cambridge, Mass.: The M. I. T. Press, 1965), p. 23.

[24] A go-between checked the horoscopes of children in the belief that an old man in the moon had a book containing the names of all those intended by Fate to marry and that he had tied the feet of bride and groom with a red cord that could never be untied. If the horoscopes were harmonious, the go-between was sent with an offer of marriage to the girl's parents who signed a betrothal contract if they were satisfied. The betrothal was a most important ceremony and was rarely broken. This was the usual procedure followed for arranged marriages except in very poor families where a childbride might be secured at a young age and be raised by her fiance's family until her marriage.

[25] The marriage of daughters could be used to gain favor with more powerful families or to secure the loyalty of a more prestigious family.

rarely considered as the marriage was seen as a union of families in which the individual bride and groom were of secondary importance.[26] Everything concerned with the arranged marriage--the cost of the wedding and setting up of the home within the groom's family, the wedding ceremony emphasizing the parents' role, and the dependence of the young son on his family to support him and his new bride--tended to affirm the parents' predominance over the young couple. Any open social life between young people of opposite sexes was frowned upon and "romantic love" never considered.

> Marriage born of romantic love has all the opposite effects of an arranged marriage. The husband-wife relationship is the core overshadowing the role of the parents, and the intimacy and affection in such a marriage would seriously threaten the dominance of parental affection, loyalty, and authority, if not replace it altogether.[27]

For the girl's family the emphasis was on securing the most advantageous match possible, but the son's family was more interested in the prospective daughter-in-law's ability to fit into the family. Because the mother-in-law was primarily responsible for introducing the bride into the family, she played an important role in her son's marriage; whereas the father, as the family member most interested in outside matters looked after a daughter's betrothal. Marion J. Levy, The Family Revolution in Modern China (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1963), p. 126.

[26]Although premarital heterosexual relations were discouraged as much as possible, there were instances recorded of clandestine meetings between young girls and their lovers. The most common attachment was between cousins, as described in the Dream of the Red Chamber. However, any premarital romantic attachments were broken upon discovery and a suitable marriage arranged without these relations being taken into consideration. There were very few successful revolts by frustrated sons or daughters as the family structure was so strong, but the lack of participation by young people in their marriage decisions was one of the most disruptive factors in Chinese family life. Levy, Family Revolution, pp. 88-89.

[27]Yang, Chinese Communist Society, p. 24.

But, within the Confucian family system every social relationship was built on the framework of filial piety and the son and his new bride must occupy their correct places in the family scheme.

In her new home a girl's most important function was not that of wife but one of a daughter-in-law; for as her husband was subordinate to his father, she must please his parents. The task of integrating the bride into the new family unit fell not to the husband but to the mother-in-law, who, therefore, had a greater interest in the selection of the bride and a greater impact on the young woman's new life.[28] The bride was definitely placed in a position of subordination to her mother-in-law who was expected to instruct her in her new role. This setup tended to reduce tensions between the young man and his wife, unless he was forced to enter into a conflict between his wife and mother, but it also placed the young bride in a most trying situation. She was placed in highly personalized contact with an older woman who had no close feelings towards her and might even view her as a threat to her relationship with her son.[29] Although her mother had given her general training in household duties

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[28] Yang suggests that the younger a son was married the more dominant was the role played by his parents in the marriage, but also that marriage at an early age made it easier for the young bride to conform to the ways of the mother-in-law than if she was married as a later, less pliable age. Ibid., p. 28.

[29] A mother built up her status in her husband's family by the birth of sons and viewed her uterine family as her security. With the death of her husband, she would be dependent on her son for her support in her old age and therefore, she tried to tie him closely to her. By stealing his affection, the bride could jeopardize the mother's position and security. Although this rarely happened, it could be a source of concern. See Margery Wolf, Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1972), p. 166.

before her marriage, she could not prepare her daughter for the individual idiosyncracies of the new family. The young woman was given no preparation for an almost complete break with her own family and was then placed in a new family as a member of very low status. She had no one to stand by her in case of unfair treatment as even her husband was expected to side with his family, even to the extremity of repudiating his wife because of his mother's dislike of her. Even under the best conditions it was a traumatic experience and the complexities of an extended family living in close proximity must have made the new bride's role seem unbearable at times. As Marion Levy characterized the situation, the mother-in-law's treatment was likely to be unfeeling and domineering, and was quite frequently harsh, vindictive, and unjust for her power was well-nigh absolute.[30] It is little wonder that the handbooks of instruction for women stressed humility, obedience, and self-control as a daughter-in-law was expected to devote her life to satisfying the cares and desires of others.

Upper and middle class Chinese homes were usually compounds containing a number of separate households each with their own quarters and servants but sharing a common kitchen and common resources. Each woman held her place in the household hierarchy, and within her own sphere of

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[30]Marion Levy goes on to ask why a mother-in-law who had earlier been a daughter-in-law herself would be so harsh with her sons' wives. He suggests the necessity of training her daughter-in-law and the lack of affectionate ties; also, the fact that by her treatment of the newcomer she accentuated the fact that she herself was no longer an outsider (this would help explain the similar actions of sisters-in-law). He also raises the question of the bride seen as a threat to her position by stealing her son's affection. Levy, Family Revolution, pp. 106-110, and p. 123.

influence--the household, including household duties, the children and servants--the principal wife had nearly as much authority as her husband.[31] However, she seldom went out of the home, except for important family or religious excursions, and knew practically nothing of this outside world.

The Chinese family was generally represented by three generations--the son and his wife with their young children, and his parents while still living. They formed a single household with common economic assets. Expansion into a "big family" could only occur as wealth increased and was therefore, characteristic of only a very small minority of big landowners and merchants who had the financial base to support an extended family. These families also attempted to have one of their sons pass the civil service examinations so they could acquire scholar-gentry status with all its social and economic benefits. Although the extended family was an impossibility for over eighty per cent of China's population, it was accepted as the ideal family pattern for society as a whole. However, inheritance problems, economic factors, and a high mortality rate frustrated the desire of an average Chinese to live in a joint family.[32]

Within the extended, or more common small family, a woman's status

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[31] R. H. Van Gulik, Sexual Life in Ancient China (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1961), p. 106.

[32] Even within wealthy families where infant mortality was lessened and more adults lived to become grandparents and great-grandparents, economic factors intervened as the large number of sons reaching maturity put a greater strain on family resources and often led to the family unit being reduced to a smaller size again. Levy, Family Revolution, p. 54.

increased with age and the bearing of children. The initial months after her marriage into a new family were generally the most trying period in a woman's life. Only after the birth of a son did she enjoy a measure of security as a recognized member of the family and the mother of the next generation of her husband's family clan. With this great emphasis on childbearing, the sooner pregnancy resulted from the marriage the more fortunate it was deemed. However, the rigors of childbirth and later care not only added more responsibilities for the new mother but often resulted in further conflicts with her mother-in-law. The rapidity of pregnancies led to frequent deaths in childbirth and had a debilitating effect on the women who survived, especially among the lower classes where there were no servants or wetnurses to help with the care of home and children. Gentry women generally enjoyed better health and with more servants and more leisure time could provide more numerous offspring for their families. And, any physical disadvantages to the woman were largely overcome by the prestige childbearing brought to the new mother with her new family.

Out of this emphasis on providing a male heir grew the practice of concubinage,[33] which proved to be one of the most disruptive elements in the family system. Despite the idyllic pictures portrayed by some novels, Chinese wives and concubines did not usually share their husbands

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[33]Concubinage also developed out of the desire for real companionship or a love match denied by the arranged marriage which tied the wife more closely to his family than to the young man himself. However, the need for a male heir remained the single most common reason for the taking of concubines.

in harmony. Although there was no moral humiliation attached to either the wife or concubine in a plural marriage, the concubine's position was extremely precarious. She had neither the protection of a formal marriage nor full membership in her husband's family. Dependent on continuing male favor to remain in the family, she was further enslaved under the supervision of the legal wife who retained her position in the family and claimed the concubine's children as her own. Depending on her relationship with the legal wife, which was seldom harmonious, the concubine could be forced to do the most unpleasant household chores and live in fear of her master's decision to dismiss her. Only the concubine tied by a love relationship to her husband and living with him apart from his family could feel any security in her position. However, like the extended family, polygamy remained the luxury of a rich minority as the average farmer could hardly support one wife, yet alone a second.

For the legal wife, her status in the family increased with age, especially after the death of her husband when the family authority passed to her son. This new position of recognized authority had led the wife to earlier tie her son to her through affection and the bounds of filial piety. As the widowed lao-nien, she was finally able to assume a position of some importance in the family hierarchy and some dowagers were able to wield important power in family decisions. However, no matter how much he might defer to the wishes of his mother, the son himself still held the recognized power after his father's death.[34]

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[34]There are some conflicting opinions over this question of domination of sons by their widowed mothers, based on their predominant role in

Although the Chinese woman might assume an important role in the home and might even influence her son or husband in decision-making, she was definitely placed in an inferior position in her divorce and property rights. In regard to separation and divorce, she had practically no rights, and if she was divorced and returned to her family, her children remained as part of their father's clan. There were seven legally accepted reasons why a husband might repudiate his wife: (1) disobedience to the husband's parents; (2) failure to bear children; (3) adultery; (4) jealousy; (5) loathsome disease; (6) garrulousness; and (7) theft. In the early centuries, divorce was not considered so great a disgrace and divorced wives and even widows remarried. However, with the acceptance of stricter Confucian moral standards in the twelfth century, divorced women were forever disgraced and widows not to remarry.[35]

> Since the traditional marriage cemented a wife not only to her husband but also to the husband's parents and family, morally the death of the husband did not dissolve the bond of marriage or change the widow's status and obligations as a daughter-in-law.[36]

There were three situations in which a husband could not repudiate his wife: (1) if she had mourned his parents for three years; (2) if the

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the early education and training of their children. Marion J. Levy, Family Revolution, p. 131, supports the view of certain domination by mothers while Olga Lang, Chinese Family, p. 52, refutes it. However, the domination, or the belief in its existence, was common enough to become a theme in Chinese fiction.

[35] Van Gulik, Sexual Life, p. 108.

[36] Yang, Chinese Communist Society, p. 47.

family had become wealthy since she joined it: and (3) if she had no family to receive her back. There were no legal grounds upon which a woman could obtain a divorce and an unfortunate marriage or disreputable husband were accepted as her fate. Moreover, the emotional ties to her children and her lack of any property rights or the ability to provide herself with a livelihood largely precluded any attempt by the wife to strike out on her own. And, the social taboos against divorced women made remarriage practically impossible.

However, because the husband could more easily divorce his wife does not mean that he did so very often. The restrictions on his rights to divorce were overshadowed by the social ties between families united by his marriage in keeping him married to his wife. Unable to dissolve his marriage without causing family shame, the dissatisfied husband usually found another solution--taking a concubine or setting up another residence.

Similarly, a widow was prevented from remarrying because of public opinion. After her husband's death she remained with his family if they could support her; and if she did remarry, her deceased husband's family usually wanted payment for her freedom. The moral code of chastity for women, requiring a woman to be married to only one man during her lifetime, further reduced any chances of remarriage. Therefore, the remarriage of widows was usually only practiced among the poorer classes where economic necessities sometimes overruled social codes.

A widow was dependent on the devotion of her children to provide for her in her old age, and thus, jealously guarded their affections. She had no control over family property and little over her own personal

possessions. However, when property was divided among the sons, the widow appears to have had a claim to a sum equal to her funeral expenses and in practice she was seldom deprived of the right to live in the family home as long as she lived. Even concubines who had no legal claim on the estate were often cared for out of respect for the father.[37] Legally the Chinese wife had no property rights, however. She could not inherit as long as a single male of the family was alive and property brought by the wife at the time of marriage generally remained in the possession of the husband, even in the case of divorce. Also, any earnings from spinning, weaving, sewing, or embroidery were controlled by the husband or father. Economic dependency on men was virtually complete for Chinese women.

One of the few avenues of escape accepted by Chinese women was the resort to suicide. Although suicide in China remained relatively rare, the greatest number of suicide victims were women between the ages of fifteen and thirty-five--the stress years when a young wife was under the pressures of a new family situation, the domination of a mother-in-law, and the physical and mental problems of childbearing. As Marion Levy has pointed out by looking at the unusually high percentage of unsuccessful suicide attempts in China, this was more often a protest <u>par excellance</u> against existing conditions rather than a death wish. Within such a rigid social structure, the young wife's means of "striking back" were limited to the extremes of suicide which invited social censure or family

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[37] O'Hara, <u>Position of Women</u>, p. 267.

intervention to ease the pressure.[38]

Although several ancient writers decried the low position of women in China, the majority of women tended to accept their status with varying degrees of resignation. There were few examples of rebellion in traditional China as the social and economic pressures were so great. However, in all classes of society, there were a few girls who refused to marry. Some of these girls turned to the Buddhist nunneries as avenues of escape. Public opinion, primarily Confucian and male, regarded these nuns and nunneries with disfavor, portraying these girls as motivated by ideas of prostitution rather than religious devotion. Although some nunneries did have this character, Confucian writers had a strong dislike for Buddhism coupled with a prejudice against any woman who removed herself from the accepted family situation of marriage and bearing children. Therefore, their comments on Buddhist nunneries in general are suspect. For China's women Buddhism became a religious refuge with its ideals of universal love and compassion personified by the goddess Kuan-yin and many girls saw the nunnery as a haven from a forced marriage or life with a cruel husband or mother-in-law.

Another group of girls in the nineteenth century who attempted to escape the traditional family system were workers in the silk industry of Shun-te district, Kwangtung province. They organized a movement called pa lo chia ("Girls Who Do Not Go To The Family"). Refusing to live with

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[38] Levy, Family Revolution, p. 117.

their husbands after marriage, they remained virgins and went to so-called "Girls' Homes" where they stayed with others with the same ideas. Later it was reported that several other female farm laborers and wage-earners in Kwangtung had joined the movement until it had become so widespread that the authorities were forced to establish special homes for these unattached women who had lost all contact with their fathers' families and having also severed contact with their husbands' families, became helpless in their old age. This movement was still alive in the 1930's.[39]

One other group of women who remained outside the mainstream of Chinese society were the courtesans, but in their particular case, their most ardent wish was to enter a traditional family situation. The institution of courtesans developed from the practice of Chou dynasty princes keeping their own troupes of female entertainers into the setting up of commercial brothels of professional entertainers. These courtesans played primarily a social role rather than a sexual one, in a society where women were ordinarily kept completely segregated. The brothels provided a meeting place for officials, literati, artists, and merchants who conducted their social and business relations largely outside the home. Courtesans adept at all the social arts provided congenial company for upper class men who seldom had anything in common with their wives and often little affection for them. Poems and novels attest to the love matches springing from these relations and for the courtesans the hope was always to marry a rich patron to become his wife or concubine and thus

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[39]Lang, Chinese Family, pp. 108-109.

provide herself with security for her old age.[40]

Within traditional Chinese society there were few opportunities for women to excel in anything beyond the household arts, but a few women did succeed in pursuing a higher education and gained proficiency in painting, calligraphy, or music. These women were immortalized in "biographies of virtuous women"; perhaps, none so highly praised as Pan Chao. Under the early dynasties there appear to have been many highly educated women but Pan Chao's Nu Chieh (Precepts for Women) and her work on the Han Shu (History of Han) brought her the greatest distinction.

Pan Chao was born (ca. 45-51 A. D.) into a family well-known for its learning and high moral qualities.[41] Her father had held various government posts but retired to compile the historical material for the Han Shu, a history of the Han dynasty. Her brothers Pan Ku and Pan Ch'ao were twins born in 32 A. D. Pan Ku had chosen the life of an historian while his brother distinguished himself as a military officer in Central Asia--subduing tribes, guarding frontiers, and protecting highways of trade for thirty-one years.[42] At the age of fourteen Pan Chao was married to

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[40]For examples, see Dymphna Cusack, Chinese Women Speak (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, Ltd., 1958).

[41]Swann, Nancy Lee, Pan Chao: Foremost Woman Scholar of China (New York: Russell and Russell, 1968) for the most authoritative biography of Pan Chao.

[42]In 100 A. D. he presented a memorial, seconded by Pan Chao, to retire because of age and illness; and in 102 A. D., he returned to the capital where he soon died. Ayscough, Chinese Women, pp. 235-236.

Ts'ao Shih-shu of Fu-feng in Shensi, but he died young leaving her with a son and daughters. Her next few years are uncertain as no records have been preserved as to whether she remained with the Ts'ao family or went to live with Pan Ku, who was at this time a noted scholar and court historian until he was implicated in a military plot and died in prison in 92 A. D.

Pan Chao had accompanied her son to a post in Chen-liu but was later recalled by the emperor to complete the history begun by her father and brother. As further evidence of her scholarly ability, it was decreed that she should enter the ladies' apartments at court to become the teacher of the young Empress Teng and the other court women. Thus, at approximately fifty years of age, she became known as Ts'ao Ta Ku, or "Aunt Ts'ao", a term of great respect. With the death of the emperor in 105 A. D. and the subsequent regencies of Empress Teng, Pan Chao's influence at court increased. Little of her writing remains, but her respect for Confucian social codes and her interest in providing a proper education for Chinese women are clear from her Nu Chieh, composed of an autobiographical introduction and seven chapters dealing with the proper conduct of women.

In all relations, a woman was to be humble and adaptable, to think first of other people, and to concentrate on domestic affairs and oblations to dead forefathers. The relations between husband and wife were to reflect the fusion of yin and yang; and as both sons and daughters were to be taught the rules of proper conduct, girls should be educated as well as boys. "To teach sons and not to teach daughters, is this not to be

blinded, to discriminate against the latter in favor of the former?"[43] The third precept examined the differences between men and women--men to be resolute and women pliable; men strong and women flexible. "The way of respect and yielding is the first principle of wifehood."[44] Therefore, the wife must be moderate, content, gentle, and forbearing in her relations with her husband, but Pan Chao recognized the need for mutual respect and feelings. "Hence rule of rightness of husband and wife results from harmonious intimacy; mutual adoration perfects the union."[45] A woman was to possess four qualities: (1) moral excellence and chastity rather than brilliant intelligence; (2) careful speech with no evil words or idle chatter; (3) cleanliness in appearance rather than great beauty; and (4) adeptness at weaving and spinning, and the serving of food and wine. Precept five stressed that a woman's union with her husband was indissoluble; whereas a husband might take a second wife, a woman could never make a second marriage. And, in dealings with her husband, a woman must be calm and self-controlled and not engage in passion or lustful intimacy. In precept six, a woman was taught to be obedient to the wishes of her father and mother-in-law for "even if a husband says he loves his wife deeply, while father-in-law and mother-in-law they do

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[43] Ibid., p. 241. All discussions of the Nu Chieh based on the translation in Ayscough, Chinese Women, pp. 237-249.

[44] Ibid., p. 242.

[45] Ibid., p. 243.

not like her, husband and wife must part."[46] To gain their hearts, a daughter-in-law must be obedient showing no opposition, no discussion, no struggle. Moreover, a young woman must promote harmonious relations with her husband's younger brothers and sisters by being modest and yielding in her relations with them. Pan Chao's seven precepts thus set the tone for a Chinese woman's life--obedience, chastity, modesty, flexibility, and forbearance in all relations, plus an education centred on her needs as a future daughter-in-law and wife.

Although Pan Chao was herself educated, she did not see the need for a purely literary education as provided for boys. Girls' education was directed towards their proper conduct within the home. However, in the Sung period, more women began to acquire some literary knowledge. Daughters of middle class families often learned to read and write in addition to learning their traditional skills and there were more examples recorded of women versed in literature and poetry and famed for their calligraphy and painting. Some wives of scholar-officials began to take a more active interest in the literary and artistic activities of their husbands as portrayed in the ideal marriage of Li Ch'ing-chao.[47]

However, there were other women who were more likely to become the heroines for China's young ladies of the late nineteenth century. These were China's female warriors, the most famous of whom was Hua Mulan.

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[46] Ibid., p. 246.

[47] See Van Gulik, Sexual Life, p. 239 for information on this marriage.

She was an only child born to a family living in North China, probably in the sixth century A. D.[48] Her father cherished his young daughter until the call to arms showed his need for a son. As her father was too old to go into battle himself, Mulan insisted on taking his place. Dressing herself in her father's uniform and fastening on her father's arms,[49] Mulan left to join the emperor's army in which she served for twelve years. At the front she led many battles, but her chastity was preserved as she maintained the secret of her identity. When the enemy was finally driven away, she turned down further military honors to return to her father.[50] Mulan was a heroine in a truly traditional sense as her military exploits were not inspired by patriotism for her country but by filial piety for her father and her story was well known to China's women. However, her strength of character and daring could also serve as an inspiration to many young girls contemplating leaving the seclusion of their homes to join in the struggle to reform China.

Although by far the most famous girl warrior, Mulan was not the only one recorded in Chinese history. In 590 A. D. a widow in the

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[48]Ayscough suggests she lived under the Wei dynasty (386-557 A. D.). Ayscough, Chinese Women, p. 216. Some plays give her a young brother but this does not change the basic story as he was still an infant unable to serve.

[49]Ayscough, Chinese Women, p. 218, refers to an interesting section in a Mulan play found in the Ssu Sheng Yuan (Four Cries of the Gibbon) where Mulan must also unbind her feet to go to war and is faced with the fear that she will thus become unmarriageable.

[50]See Appendix I for example of a Mulan play.

Hsi clan organized a force to cooperate with an imperial army in regaining a city held by aboriginal tribes. Although no longer young--her grandson commanded the troops--she accompanied the men dressed as a soldier. For her service she was posthumously ennobled as the "Lady of Ch'iao State."[51]

Not all of China's female warriors supported the ruling dynasty, however. In the revolutionary years, many young girls would turn against the Ch'ing rulers and plan assassinations, manufacture bombs, and plan military uprisings. There were women in the T'ung-mang-hui armies who fought to overthrow the dynasty. Also within the traditional society, there were examples of women, usually of peasant origin, who joined secret societies. Usually forced by adverse economic conditions to join bandit groups, these peasants, both men and women, often returned to their fields and homes when their demands were met or the economic pressure lessened. However, there were a few women who became notorious bandit leaders of large groups of men and usually ended their days on the execution grounds.

> An amazon named Li Tsat Mooy is making things lively in Ho Chi Chase, of the Hing Yuen district of Kwang Si. She is about forty years of age and is now the head of some hundreds of robbers and bullies. Her daring exploits are exciting the envy of her male rivals, and, dressed in a short jacket and red silk sash, with her head bound up in a green silk mantle, one can imagine the impression she creates amongst her followers when she gets bestride her horse with her rifle in her hand and eyes shooting defiance. . .
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> Formerly a fierce amazon named Can Moon Mooy terrorized the

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[51] Ayscough, Chinese Women, pp. 222-223.

> Moo Luen district of Chum Chau but she was captured and beheaded by Cheong Dan Ming, the then prefect of Chum Chau. She did not fear death, and when about to be executed occupied the last moments of her life in singing a song.[52]

Many secret societies allowed women to become members, and although they didn't usually attain very high office, they were accepted with a greater degree of equality than was experienced in regular society. Women were particularly active in the south, where they served as spies and lookouts. Moreover, wives and mothers who were not actually members of the societies themselves, protected the members and were tied to the societies by loyalty to their menfolk. Some women also formed their own all-female associations, such as the "Green and Blue Lanterns".[53] There were also female mutual aid societies to help widows and these various groups provided a meager background for women's involvement in military affairs--an involvement seen in the 1911 Revolution when they formed their own military brigades on a small scale.

However, these "rebels" were very small in number and never reflected the feelings and attitudes of the great majority of China's women. These women continued to accept the strict family organization based on parental control of married sons and a family hierarchy structured according to

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[52] South China Morning Post, Saturday, November 21, 1903, p. 5.

[53] Jean Chesneaux, Secret Societies in China. Translated by Gillian Nettle. (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1971), p. 122 mentions special units of young girls, twelve to eighteen years old, in the Red and Blue Lanterns who operated within the Boxer movement. They were led by a woman, Huang-lian Sheng-mu (the "Sacred Mother of the Yellow Lotus") who claimed to possess great magical powers.

age and sex. In the past it had fostered a stable family and undoubtedly contributed to the long stability of the traditional culture. However, it had also put tremendous pressure on China's women and youth; and by the late nineteenth century, these individuals began to question their status as they questioned the whole range of Chinese values through their new contacts with the West.

CHAPTER III

BETTERING CHINA'S WOMEN

> 'No reforms', says an enlightened Chinese writer, 'would be complete without the education of women and no nation can boast of superior civilization while one-half of its members are in deep ignorance and benighted superstition. The destiny of a nation is inextricably involved in the condition of the women.'[54]

Not all of China's traditional writers had accepted the role given to her women. One of the foremost critics was Li Ju-chen (b. 1763), an unorthodox Confucian scholar, who after cutting himself off from official positions by his criticisms of the eight-legged essay style, turned to the study of phonetics and the writing of a novel--the least respectable form of Chinese literature. His novel, Ching-hua yuan (The Flowers in the Mirror),[55] took ten years to write, first appearing in print in 1828. Containing one hundred chapters arranged in four groups, Ching-hua yuan dealt with one hundred flower spirits reincarnated as women and with the travels of a Taoist scholar, T'ang Ao, searching for these spirits. Using these mediums, Li criticized his society, especially the position of women and the examination system. In his "Country of Women", Li reversed male and female roles and showed a man's reaction to having his feet

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[54] "The Position of Chinese Women", North China Herald and Supreme Court and Consular Gazette, No. 2084 (July 19, 1907), p. 117.

[55] Li Ju-chen, Flowers in the Mirror. Translated by Lin Tai-yi. (London: Peter Owen Limited, 1965).

bound and to the taking of male concubines.[56] He praised the abilities of women when given equal opportunities to education, as portrayed by their standing in the examination system organized by Empress Wu in the Ching-hua yuan. Although Li still accepted most of the Confucian social code, including arranged marriages, he was a radical in the context of his times as he criticized practices in China as not living up to Confucian standards. Li saw the relegation of Chinese women to inferior positions as being unjust and illogical, but like the few other writers who attacked the customs of footbinding and arranged marriages, he remained outside the mainstream of Chinese writing and few men or women were even aware of his thoughts.

In the 1850's the Taipings had included equality between men and women as part of their revolutionary program for China.

> Women, like men, now could take the state examinations and could hold civil or military offices; there were special female contingents in the Taiping army. Foot binding, so common among the higher classes since the twelfth century, was strictly forbidden, as was prostitution; white slavery and rape were punished by death. Monogamy was obligatory; women and girls who did not have the protection of male family members were particularly taken care of. Women were required to marry, and marriage was to rest not on a financial arrangement between families, as in the past, but on love between the two partners; even so, it sometimes happened that couples were married against their will, by officials; a Western church-marriage ceremony was introduced.[57]

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[56] Nancy J. F. Evans, "Social Criticism in the Ch'ing", Papers on China, XXIII (July, 1970), pp. 55-56.

[57] Franz Schurmann and Orville Schell, The China Reader: Imperial China (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), pp. 186-187.

However, Taiping influence was limited and their Heavenly Kingdom short-lived.

However, with the upsurge of the reform movement in the 1890's, several young Chinese writers began to study the position of women. To men like Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, the Chinese woman had to be educated in order to become a loyal citizen dedicated to working towards her nation's independence and growth. Therefore, her education and social emancipation took on a new importance as part of the total reform of Chinese society. As a few women themselves became aware of the new movement and linked their desire for personal freedom with the needs of the nation, a powerful new social force was born. In some ways these early "social revolutionaries" were more radical than their political counterparts as they often faced more formidable familial and social barriers to their new role in a new China. Men and women began to write and talk about the need for physical education, a proper modern school education, and an opportunity for women to escape the stifling seclusion of their homes. Although disagreeing on some of the details, all of the reformers tended to regard education as the panacea for all of China's ills.

In traditional China it had been widely accepted that intellectual training was not an essential, or even desirable, part of a woman's education. The great emphasis was on moral training and the development of the feminine virtues of obedience, manners, conversation, and handiwork. There were some girls from wealthy families who were able to get a rudimentary classical education through private teachers or private schools set up for their brothers, but they were the exception and their classical

educational training was only a minor consideration in their preparation for marriage. This traditional emphasis on training for the home and the roles of wife and mother was paralleled by early missionary attitudes.

MISSIONARY EDUCATION

> The great aim of the girls' schools in China is rightly, to furnish such training as shall prepare their students to be worthy wives and mothers, and the large majority of those who attend the schools find their highest subsequent usefulness in the home.[58]

Miss Aldersey's school for girls, opened in Ningpo in 1844 as the first mission school on the mainland, began a century of mission efforts to educate China's young women, culminating in the establishment of women's colleges under the Republic.[59] Early attempts from 1827 to 1834 had been made to set up overseas schools for Chinese girls in settlements outside China. Following an appeal by Dr. Robert Morrison,[60] Maria Nevell and Mrs. Dyer sailed on the same boat to the Orient to open schools in Malacca and Penang respectively.[61] A Miss Grant had already opened a

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[58] Margaret E. Burton, Notable Women of Modern China (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1912), p. 8.

[59] For a listing of the founding of girls mission schools in China, see Appendix II.

[60] Robert Morrison had come to China formally as an "interpreter" for the East India Company and had remained in Canton for twenty-seven years (1807-1834) as a self-supporting missionary. As such he was the pioneer missionary to China. He was also instrumental in setting up the Anglo-Chinese College in Malacca.

[61] Mary Raleigh Anderson, Protestant Mission Schools for Girls in South China (Mobile, Alabama: Heiter-Starke Printing Co., 1943), p. 57.

school for Chinese girls in Singapore in 1825, and in 1834 a group of English women started the "Society for Promoting Female Education in the East."[62] The importance of these early schools for overseas Chinese girls was through their influence on the thinking of Chinese relatives in Kwangtung who had remained in close contact with the emigrants in Southeast Asia and through this medium became acquainted with the idea of educating girls.

In 1835, a Protestant mission school for girls was founded in Macao by Dr. Gutzlaff and his wife. They enrolled twelve girls and two boys on September 30, 1835, but the school was forced to close within a few years due to financial difficulties and war between China and the Western powers. Mrs. Henrietta Hall Shuck had established another school in Macao in 1836 to teach Chinese children, and she found her school to be so popular that she had more applicants than she could handle. However, she found it difficult to secure girls for her classes.

> I should much prefer taking girls exclusively; but so great is the opposition of Chinese parents to having their female children educated, that I find that I must take boys in order to get girls. When I first mentioned to the Chinese here that I intended to open a school, they brought boys in numbers, but not one girl. At last, I refused to take anymore, unless for every boy they would bring a girl. . . .[63]

After 1842, educational work in the treaty ports and in

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[62] Tang Chindon Yiu, "Women's Education in China", Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education, Bulletins on Chinese Education 1923. (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, Limited, 1925), p. 3.

[63] Anderson, Protestant Mission Schools, p. 62.

Hong Kong[64] began in earnest, and after 1860 day schools, boarding schools, and theological schools could be opened anywhere in China under treaty provisions. However, the work was greatly hampered by the lack of a coherent education policy from the mission boards, by the lack of funds, and by the difficulties encountered in attracting students.

Until almost the end of the century, mission schools found it hard to obtain students. Pupils were not required to pay tuition fees, and as a further inducement, they were often supplied with lodging, food, and clothing as well. The first girls to attend mission schools were generally from poor families who facing poverty allowed their daughters to attend these schools which furnished the food and clothing so desperately needed. But, the loss of daughters through early marriages and the general feeling that girls were not worth educating combined with a fear of foreigners to keep enrollments down. As one author described the early female students,

> Such were the pioneer school girls of China; the children of the poorest of the poor, whose parents had to be bribed to send them by promises of food and clothing; the homeless foundlings whom no one but the missionaries wanted; and despised little slave girls.[65]

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[64] Mrs. Legge established what was probably the first permanent school for girls in Hong Kong when she settled there in 1842 with her husband, James Legge, principal of the Anglo-Chinese College. For further details on the school and on the life of James Legge, see H. E. Legge, James Legge Missionary and Scholar (London: 1905).

[65] Margaret E. Burton, The Education of Women in China (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1911), p. 51.

One of the girls at Mrs. Shuck's school had been bought from slavery and adopted by the Shucks. At first Mrs. Shuck's pupils had lived in her home and studied English and Chinese; but after she moved to Hong Kong in 1842, the pupils (20 boys and 6 girls) were housed in their own building until Mrs. Shuck's early death at age twenty-seven ended her school.[66]

Slowly as the Chinese saw how well treated the little girls were and how much new knowledge they took back to their native homes, some of the prejudice began to break down until by 1890 the mission schools were overwhelmed with applicants. Eventually the schools were able to abandon the practice of "virtually paying" students to attend. Parents were to provide their own clothing and some schools were even able to charge a small tuition fee. In an effort to become self-supporting, some schools introduced handicraft industries for their students.[67]

Christian schools had been established primarily to provide an opening for preaching the gospel. The early missionaries viewed the schools as a way to overcome Chinese prejudice against Christianity and by winning the confidence of their students' parents, they hoped to open another avenue to the conversion of individuals. Therefore, the schools were not established by professional educators emphasizing education for its own sake but by missionaries wanting to provide another forum for evangelization.

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[66]Anderson, Protestant Mission Schools, pp. 62-64.

[67]Burton, Education of Women, pp. 53-57.

> 'My own desire in this school', said one earnest woman, 'is to impart instruction which with God's blessing will bring those committed to my care to Christ. I will not think of the higher education, so called. I want them to know nature's God before they learn nature and her laws, and I want them to learn the language of Canaan before they learn my mother tongue.'[68]

Although many young Chinese wanted only a modern education from these mission schools, they did provide a large number of converts to the various Christian churches. Whereas the early Protestant missionaries, like Robert Morrison and James Legge, had shown a great respect for Chinese culture and had attempted to develop a balanced education pattern, later missionaries evinced an attitude of European superiority and talked of totally replacing a semi-civilized decadent Chinese civilization with a progressive Christian and Western one.[69] Missionaries like Timothy Richard adopted a broadened educational ideal to teach "Western civilization" in the mission schools and develop a coordinated educational system from

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[68]Quoted from Woman's Work for Woman, December 1884, in Burton, Education of Women, p. 68.

[69]This attitude grew stronger as Chinese prestige declined following her unsuccessful wars with the Europeans. It also reflected the background of the missionaries, especially the English and American Protestants caught up in the throes of an evangelical revival. This was a time of narrow intolerance and the "white man's burden" and young missionaries hurried to foreign lands like China in order to save their fellowmen from a life of misery and sin. Their sincere faith in their Christian superiority and their role as saviors of damned races tolerated no interference and combined a lack of any understanding of other cultures or attitudes. For more details on this widespread evangelical movement, see E. R. Hughes, The Invasion of China by the Western World (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1937) and Gregg, China and Educational Autonomy. For a personal look at these attitudes, see Pearl S. Buck, The Fighting Angel (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1936) a biography of her father as missionary to China.

kindergarten to college level. Although individuals and the Y. M. C. A.[70] turned to broader educational appeals such as science exhibits, health displays, and the introduction of language studies, most missionaries balked at emphasizing education over evangelization. Only the need for educated pastors and the lack of trained Europeans to fill the positions forced the more conservative missionaries to accept the introduction of modern western subjects in mission schools. Every school taught religion and the Chinese language and, depending on the knowledge of the teachers, some Chinese classics. Generally other branches of knowledge were neglected, partly because of the proclivity of the missionaries themselves, but also due to the lack of textbooks and qualified instructors. English was only introduced when the demand from Chinese students became so great that it could not be ignored, and other courses, such as rudimentary arithmetic, geography, science, music and physical culture, were slowly added to the curriculum.

For their girls, the mission schools had an even narrower curriculum based on the premise that girls should know the doctrines of Christianity and how to organize a clean and proper Christian home but that all "other useful knowledge" was not essential. They were taught to read only so they could understand the Bible. In order to uplift the girls, it was thought that "every school for girls ought . . . to aim to

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[70] For details on the work of the Y. M. C. A. in China and its development out of the religious revival in the United States, see Shirley S. Garrett, Social Reformers in Urban China (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970).

prepare its students to be good wives and mothers and to make happy homes."[71] Domestic science and household economics were therefore important subjects. The missionaries were intent on making their girls "model homemakers"; and although those girls who became doctors[72] and teachers were praised, the emphasis remained on producing capable Christian women as the centre of their homes rather than independent career-women.

It is difficult to evaluate the impact of missionaries on the development of education for girls in China as almost all the source material available was written by missionaries themselves and thus tends to present the rosiest picture possible. However, the Protestant missionaries can be credited with opening the first girls' schools in China and for many years these mission schools remained the only ones offering any Western learning to Chinese girls. Both the Roman Catholics and the Protestants had from the first emphasized that the women of China must share in the new educational opportunities. This in itself was a revolutionary idea with deep social ramifications when girls began to leave their homes to spend their formulative years in boarding schools under the direction of foreigners. Many of the most active members of China's later women's movements were products of these mission schools. However,

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[71] Anderson, Protestant Mission Schools, p. 153.

[72] For biographies of the four earliest women doctors, Dr. Yamei Kin, Dr. Hu King-eng, Dr. Mary Stone, and Dr. Ida Kahn, see Burton, Notable Women. These early doctors all took their training outside China, but in 1899 Dr. Mary Fulton established the first medical college for women in China (in 1905 became Hackett Medical College).

the number and quality of both mission and government schools varied greatly from city to countryside and from one province to another. After seeing only primitive education facilities on a tour of the Chinese interior, the Baptist mission was pleased to report on its arrival in Kweilin:

> When we went to Kweilin in 1912 there were excellent government schools in the city. I cannot remember numbers, but I certainly do remember the fine normal school for girls. We were especially surprised to see the kindergarten department they had. The head teacher of that department was a Christian woman, Mrs. Hua, who had been trained in Japan. They had a fine model kindergarten, housed in a very good building separate from the big school, in a nice garden. The normal school could even boast a piano, the only one in the whole province, outside of Wuchow.
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> There was also a good law school for women at that time and there were two or three middle schools for girls, besides several primary schools.

Unfortunately lack of finances and political troubles resulted in the early closure of these schools.[73] And, only a very small percentage of China's female population were in any way influenced by the new school systems developing.

The "new education" only got off the ground when China's literati became urgently interested in it in preference to the old state examination system. They enrolled in mission schools by the hundreds as they were virtually the only ones providing Western learning and also began agitating for a state-sponsored system of schools. Many missionaries also

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[73] Anderson, Protestant Mission Schools, p. 143. For further details on the wide variation from province to province, see Kuo Ping Wen, The Chinese System of Public Education (New York: Columbia University Teacher's College, 1915), pp. 108-109.

encouraged government interest in China's schools as they saw the development of a modern school system as an opportunity for them to influence a large Chinese student population because of their predominant position in the educational field. However, they were doomed to disappointment as they soon found that the Ch'ing government was determined to control its own educational system and force the missionaries out. Anti-foreignism reduced missionary influence and China's students were more interested in government jobs or politics than in religion.

MODERN GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS

In traditional China, the majority of schools had been privately financed through tuition fees or the collective efforts of families, clans, or villages. They were generally taught by men who had only succeeded in acquiring the first degree in their examinations and could find no government position. The government schools actually provided little instruction as no regular classes were taught, and their primary function was to give exams to prepare their students for the civil service examinations. The real teaching centres were the shu-yuan, or academies, which were usually private institutions of instruction and discussion. Under the Ch'ing most of them were sponsored or subsidized by the government which retained some control through its local officials. Besides preparing their students for the official examinations, these shu-yuan served as centres of research where famous scholars gathered to study and instruct their personal followers. Although there was no state-controlled education system as such, all traditional learning was determined by the

criteria of the traditional examination system.

As early as 1861, Prince Kung and other far-sighted officials had presented a memorial to the Throne including a provision for the opening of a school of foreign languages in Peking. Out of this memorial grew the T'ung-wen Kuan--the first government attempt to introduce some elements of Western learning. It was followed by telegraph, naval, mining, and engineering colleges started by individual viceroys or governors concerned with various aspects of modernization. In all, approximately one dozen professional schools were established between 1862 and 1895 for the study of foreign languages, military science, shipbuilding, and navigation--all in the name of national defense and completely outside the mainstream of the traditional education system.[74] None of the officials responsible for establishing these early schools had any plans to replace the traditional Chinese examination system with a Western one, but only desired to provide those supplementary techniques which were thought to have enabled the Western powers to achieve wealth and power.

In order to further the education of their young students, the Chinese government and provinces began to send selected numbers to study abroad. The most elaborate scheme sanctioned by the imperial government was the one suggested by Yung Wing (1828-1912)[75] in 1868. Himself a

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[74] See Appendix III for a list of these modern schools.

[75] For details of Yung Wing's life and the history of the Educational Mission, see Yung Wing, My Life in China and America (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1909); also Thomas E. La Farque, China's First Hundred (Pullman, Wash.: State College of Washington, 1942).

graduate of Yale College in the United States, Yung Wing proposed to send one hundred and twenty Chinese students to America to be educated for government service. They were to be sent in four groups of thirty each to secure a complete American education from elementary school through college--a total of fifteen years. In 1871 Li Hung-chang opened a preparatory school in Shanghai for the students selected to go on the mission; and in 1872 the first group left, followed by the other three groups sent at yearly intervals. However, conservative attacks on the mission culminated in 1881 when all the students were recalled to China before they had a chance to complete their education. Upon their return the young students were subjected to fresh humiliations and like most other foreign-trained students in the 1880's, they were unable to overcome discriminations against their foreign education. Not until the reform movement gained momentum at the end of the century were they able to make proper use of their American educations and specialized training.

This discrimination against foreign learning was only one of the problems which faced the early modern schools. They were also hampered by language problems, the lack of competent instructors, and the lack of textbooks and other teaching aids. The greatest difficulty was in recruiting promising students due to the great opposition of the Confucian literati and the societal pressures which forced students to follow the traditional education system. The use of large stipends, attractive living conditions, and even promises of government employment failed to draw students from their classical studies which qualified them to take part in the civil service examinations. As long as these examinations

remained the only recognized road to government advancement, promising students would not jeopardize their futures on Western studies. Attempts to modify the examination system in 1869 and 1875 had failed to get royal approval, and not until 1887 was foreign learning, i.e., mathematics and science, admitted as an optional subject. However, even this change was limited in scope and the modern schools failed to develop as long as the traditional examination system remained in force as the only way to a degree and the attendant social advantages it brought.

However, the humiliating 1895 defeat by Japan which was to bring so many political changes to China also raised the cry for educational reform. Governors-general of various provinces began to open schools in their provinces--the Sino-Western School in Tientsin in 1896, the Southern Public School in Shanghai in 1897, and the development of the Imperial University in Peking in 1898. As the demand for the "new learning" became so great during these months following the war with Japan that all modern schools, whether private, government, or mission, were overcrowded, individual Chinese began to clamour for a national education system, not only for men but for all Chinese.

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao showed a special interest in education at all levels and including education for women and children to enable them to become useful citizens in the new nation. Although he focused his attention on the scholar-gentry class, criticizing their corruption and their lack of specialized training, Liang was also interested in raising the general level of knowledge among all people. Recognizing the importance

of the home environment for a child's basic knowledge, Liang emphasized education for China's future mothers who would in turn shape the habits and character of their children. As early as 1897, Liang wrote an article calling for women's education to strengthen the nation and urging government authorities to open modern schools for girls. That same year a fellow reformer, Kan Kuang-jen, opened a girls' school in Shanghai.[76] Also in 1897, a number of wealthy Shanghai merchants and officials formed a society for the purpose of establishing a school for girls in that city, all the expenses of which were to be met by voluntary subscriptions. Other provisions included that: (1) all funds and plans for the school were to be under the supervision of women and all the teachers were to be women; (2) Chinese and English were to be taught; (3) there were to be forty pupils from the ages of eight to fifteen: (4) footbinding was to stop; (5) students were to be "daughters of reputable families" as later they would become leaders and teachers: (6) there were to be three courses of study--mathematical, medical, and law: (7) there would be a kindergarten department; (8) there would be an industrial department of spinning, weaving, and drawing; (9) only women would be allowed in the school with no males, not even directors, to enter: (10) students could live at home or at school; (11) fees would be set according to the wealth of the family: (12) girls from Foundling Asylums could not be given

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[76]Theodore E. Hsiao, The History of Modern Education in China (Shanghai: Commercial Press, Ltd., 1935), p. 47.

as concubines; and (13) no pupils would ever be sold as slaves.[77] The men then turned the school over to their wives and daughters and proceeded to raise funds for it. Foreign ladies in Shanghai were enlisted as advisors and the school, modelled after mission schools, formally opened on June 1, 1898 with sixteen pupils. In order to further promote the cause of women's education, a monthly paper, The Chinese Girls' Progress was published and a "Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge Among Chinese Women" was organized. Unfortunately, the school was forced to close two years later under orders of the Empress Dowager in the reaction following the reform movement.[78]

However, by the end of 1901 another school for girls was established in Shanghai, Wupun (Strive for Unity School); followed in 1902 by the "Patriotic School"; in 1903 by the Chung-mang School founded by a wealthy Chinese widow; and in 1904, by the Ch'eng Tung School founded by Mr. and Mrs. Yang. By 1907 there were twelve schools for girls in Shanghai alone, supported and controlled wholly by the Chinese with over 800 students. They included normal schools for training teachers, also industrial training, and one medical course. Physical culture[79] was

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[77] Burton, Education of Women, pp. 100-105.

[78] Ibid., pp. 110-111.

[79] After the Sino-Japanese war a few officials began to emphasize physical fitness for military personnel. Gradually military drill was introduced into a few of the schools; and by 1903 physical exercise was included in many of the school curriculums, although competitive or contact sports were still restricted to the mission schools.

accepted as part of the regular work and anti-foothinding groups were becoming more active.[80]

Also beginning in 1898, progressive government officials began a concerted appeal for government-supported modern schools. Most active in this campaign was viceroy Chang Chih-tung who continued to propose a system based on the Confucian classics supplemented by the practical devices of the West.

> The old and new must both be taught; by the old is meant the Four Books, the Five Canons, history, government, and geography of China; by the new, Western government, science, and history. Both are imperative, but we repeat that the old is to form the basis and the new is for practical purposes.[81]

In 1898 Chang published Ch'uan-hsueh p'ien (An Exhortation to Learning) which advocated the establishment of modern schools in every province, circuit, prefecture, department, and district--universities in the provincial capitals, colleges in the prefectural cities, and high schools in the districts. The curriculum was to include the Classics, Chinese geography and history, arithmetic, geometry, and sciences with more advanced courses in Chinese literature, government, and foreign languages and literature at the higher levels. The aim was to broaden the outlook of the scholar-official class through the introduction of Western studies, the translation of Western books, and the use of foreign newspapers. As Chang noted, "Knowledge alone can save us from destruction, and education

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[80] Burton, Education of Women, pp. 112-113.

[81] Kiang Wen-han, The Chinese Student Movement (New York: King's Crown Press, 1948), p. 13.

is the path to knowledge." Temples and monasteries were to be converted into schools with temple lands providing the needed income; and the traditional examination system was to be revised with the abolition of the eight-legged essay and the introduction into the examinations of more practical subjects. The Ch'uan-hsueh p'ien was presented to the Throne and distributed by imperial order to all governors-general, governors, and provincial directors of education. It was received enthusiastically by progressive members of the literati and received widespread attention from a growing sector of the ruling class.

However, it was not until 1901 and the end of the Boxer troubles when the court began to take decisive action. Western learning was seen by many to be a sort of magic elixir to bring China strength and security, but even less radical modernizers now accepted the need to learn from the West in order to guarantee China's survival. During the Boxer rebellion nearly all the modern schools and colleges in northern China had been abandoned or destroyed and officials began to memorialize for a new national school system. In 1901 Chang Chih-tung and Liu K'un-i called for the establishment of civil and military schools on the Japanese model and the integration of the new schools within the examination system. The continuing attack on the eight-legged essay brought its abolition on August 29, 1901 and the inclusion of more foreign subjects on the examinations. Following Chang Chih-tung's earlier advice on study abroad, the court began to instruct the provincial authorities to send students abroad, especially to Japan. In September 1901, edicts were issued to set up schools at all levels with a mixed curriculum of Chinese and

Western subjects. This was followed in 1902 with the appointment of a commission to plan a national public school system. This system, outlined in 1903 and 1904, was modelled after that of Japan[82] in an attempt to imitate what appeared to be her miraculous success in adopting Western techniques.

However, this new system was developed for the training of boys only. Schooling for girls was left entirely to individual efforts. The traditional concept that the educational needs of women could be met by the home prevailed, and in 1903 the educational commission emphatically declared that it was still too early to attempt to open schools for girls. A book containing the essential passages from the traditional female literature--The Classic of Filial Piety, The Four Books, Biographies of Virtuous Women, Girls' Guide, Girls' Lessons, and Examples for the Teaching of Girls--was all that was required.[83] The sexes must remain segregated and women kept off the streets according to the "Revised Catalogue" of 1903; and it was not proper for them to read too many Western books lest they wrongly adopt foreign customs, believe in free marriage, and slight the authority of their parents and husbands. Therefore, the female should be educated only in the home under the supervision of a mother or guardian and with a curriculum limited to reading, writing, and

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[82] For details of the system proposed, see Cyrus H. Peake, Nationalism and Education in Modern China (New York: Howard Fertig, 1970), pp. 50-51.

[83] Hsiao, History of Modern Education, p. 47.

arithmetic.[84]

After 1902 some wives and mothers took the initiative in establishing tutorial groups and private classes within the home. Some private schools were opened; even the Empress Dowager opened a school in the palace for the daughters of the nobility. She followed this with edicts against footbinding, and as girls with bound feet were refused admission to private schools, the practice was gradually abandoned by the upper classes wishing to educate their daughters. However, schools like those sponsored by Chang Chih-tung continued to show a low evaluation of women and their abilities. They were to be trained as governesses or private nurses in the School of Reverence and Purity and the School of Infant Rearing.[85]

Until 1907 women's education remained dependent on private concern and individual efforts. When women's education was finally accepted as an integral part of the total school system, several other important changes in education had already taken place. On January 13, 1904, the Throne had approved a memorial urging the gradual abolition of the examination system, which was seen as the greatest obstacle to the growth and

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[84] C. W. Luh, "China's New System of Education", Bulletin 8, 1923, II, p. 3.

[85] The School of Reverence and Purity had lectures by a Japanese woman teacher on home education to prepare girls for employment as tutors in the homes of wealthy families. The School of Infant Rearing was also taught by a Japanese woman who trained nurses in child rearing and guidance, also directed towards employment in the homes of the wealthy. Chang further stipulated that only married women could enroll. Ayers, Chang Chih-tung, p. 232.

acceptance of modern schools. On September 2, 1905 an edict abolished the examination system, and the government turned its attention to the establishment of a modern education system under the centralized control of the Ministry of Education at Peking.

With the continuing growth of private and mission schools, the central government was losing control of education and felt that it must coordinate a system based on Confucianism in order to regain some control over a growing student population. The 1903 education commission had recommended the appointment of a minister of education at Peking to have general direction over all schools throughout the country with his duties to include the standardization of all schools in the provinces, the formulation of educational policies, the inspection of schools, the examination of textbooks, teachers, and students, and the supervision of expenditures by schools. They also recommended the setting up of educational departments in each province, involving the governors and gentry in these provincial departments and setting educational standards for new officials in the departments.[86] In 1905 a Ministry of Education was created and subsequently organized into five departments with absolute control over all educational matters in the country. School textbooks which had been left to private concerns until 1906 were made the responsibility of a special bureau in the Ministry of Education, which began to publish a series of readers with simple Chinese characters,

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[86]Hsiao, History of Modern Education, pp. 67-68.

plus textbooks for the primary schools and teachers' manuals. All private books now had to be certified and authorized for school use.[87]

The Manchu government tried simultaneously to curb the influence of mission schools. Graduates of these schools were denied government degrees and titles and they were denied the franchise to elect representatives to the provincial assemblies,[88] as well as facing other social disadvantages. Although the government declared that this policy did not reflect anti-Christian or anti-foreign attitudes, it was also made clear that any foreign interference in China's education system would not be tolerated. However, this new nationalism came into conflict with the realities of the situation as government schools remained substandard and parents continued to send their sons and daughters to the best educational institutions available, which were usually the mission schools.

After 1905, the government had officially recognized the need for women's education;[89] and when the imperial commission of 1906 was sent

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[87]Kuo, Chinese System of Public Education, pp. 105-106.

[88]Charles K. Edmunds, Modern Education in China Department of the Interior. Bureau of Education. Bulletin No. 44 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919), p. 25.

[89]The newspapers were now full of articles dealing with requests for a modern government education system for girls. "The Chinese Minister to France has memorialized the Throne to the effect that Peking should set the example to the other provinces of the Empire by the free establishment of schools for the education of girls." North China Herald No. 430, Vol. 3 (Monday, May 22, 1905), p. 2. Also: "It is reported that Lady Liu and her son, an official in the Board of Revenue, is about to visit Japan in the cause of female education. Lady Liu is sixty-eight years of age, and is the pioneer of female education at the Capital." North China Herald, No. 422, Vol. 3 (Friday, May 12, 1905), p. 2.

abroad, it was instructed to study women's education in other countries. When Tuan Fang returned to China filled with enthusiasm for female education, the Ministry of Education decided to inaugurate a program immediately. Some viceroys promoting modern schools in their provinces had already begun to make some provision for female education and women had been included in the programs to send students abroad. In 1905 Hunan sent twenty women to Japan to take short training courses in education: in the same year, Fengtien began to send fifteen girls yearly to Japanese girls' schools for courses in education; and by 1905, two Japanese girls' schools had established special Chinese departments. There were a smaller number of girls enrolled in American schools--nineteen in 1905, thirty-six in the eastern states in 1910.[90]

> "China is awakening to realize that a nation's strength and prosperity lie in the education of her daughters."[91]

In March 1907, the Ch'ing government issued thirty-six regulations for the organization of girl's normal schools and twenty regulations for girls' primary schools. The highest educational institution for girls was the normal school as there was no provision for middle schools or colleges for women before the Revolution. The course of studies for girls' schools

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[90] Y. C. Wang, Chinese Intellectuals and the West, 1872-1949 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), pp. 72-73. Also "About 100 girls of Hunan and Chekiang provinces are about to proceed to Japan to complete their education." North China Herald, No. 418, Vol. 3 (Monday, May 8, 1905), p. 5.

[91] Quoted from Missionary Review of the World, February 1907 in Burton, Education of Women, p. 128.

was one year shorter than that for the boys' schools, and the education of girls and boys was to be kept entirely separate. The first government primary schools opened in 1907 with a four-year lower primary course and a four-year higher primary course to cover ages seven to fourteen. Curriculum included ethics, literature, needlework, and physical drill with music and drawing optional in the first four years, and Chinese history and geography being added along with a compulsory drawing course in the latter four years.[92] By the end of 1907, there were 391 girls' schools in China with 11,936 pupils registered--representing only two per cent of the total student population.[93]

The Ch'ing government expected the new education system to solidify the nation behind the concepts of loyalty to the emperor and reverence for Confucius. These conservative educators still based their educational concepts on their own classical tradition, and although they emphasized public spirit, martial spirit, and practical learning, it was still to be within a Confucian framework. Younger, Japanese-trained educators after 1906 began to introduce a number of changes based on Japanese models, such as the division of middle schools into arts and science departments and separate academic, normal, vocational, and technical schools, although

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[92] Victor Purcell, Problems of Chinese Education (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, and Co., Ltd., 1936), p. 69. For further details on girls' primary and normal schools, see Kuo, Chinese System of Public Education, p. 101 and pp. 104-105.

[93] Bulletins on Chinese Education 1923, p. 6.

their influence was restricted until after the founding of the Republic.[94]

However, the overriding preoccupation for the young students was to prepare themselves to serve their nation and courses of study were selected on the basis of their practicality. In general this coincided with the government's aim for education of individuals to fill the needs of the state; i.e., in early years an emphasis on the navy, army, engineering, and mining courses; after 1905 the study of laws, government, and education systems of advanced nations later broadened again to include science, technology, and commerce. However, the grandiose government education schemes often existed only on paper as financing remained a major problem. The lack of adequately trained teachers opened a new field to China's women, but the quality of teaching was often poor.

Although the opportunities for girls to obtain an education were greater than ever before, the number of girls actually involved was relatively small. Her education was still designed primarily to make her a good mother and housewife, although she might also train as a teacher for young children. However, by 1911 gentry women were becoming ashamed of their illiteracy and the cause of women's education was further strengthened by the demand of young men for educated wives. As education brought these girls into contact with a whole new sphere of life, they began to develop new expectations in regard to employment, marriage, and their roles in society. Girls removed from their homes during their formative years developed new loyalties and ideals which often clashed

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[94] Wang, Chinese Intellectuals, pp. 362-363.

with the traditional ideas of their families and society.

Women had been excluded from most fields of employment because of social taboos or by social customs or guild rules which only admitted men to occupations outside the home. In traditional China women served only in home industries, such as silk weaving, spinning, and various handicrafts, or as farm laborers among the poorer classes. Even these occupations varied from North China where women were less involved in farm production to South China where women were more accepted in both agricultural and urban occupations. For the women of the upper classes, their sphere was management of the home and they seldom left its confines, let alone engaged in any productive labor outside the home.

The new education brought many of these wealthy girls out of their homes for the first time and with their new knowledge and their desire to work for their country the question of occupations beyond that of housewife and mother became relevant. A few Chinese women had qualified as doctors before 1900, usually through the efforts of missionaries who sent them to America to be educated. Dr. Mary Stone, Dr. Ida Kahn, and Dr. Hu King Eng were perhaps the most famous of these early women doctors, and they were able to gain the respect not only of their patients but of their local communities, and also to gain the attention of progressive officials, such as Chang Chih-tung.[95] It was through the influence of

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[95] Margaret Burton writes that Chang asked Ida Kahn and Mary Stone, along with their friend Miss Howe, to accept positions in a school he wished to establish in Shanghai and serve in the medical department. Although they decided to stay in Kiukiang, there can be no doubt about their new prestige. Burton, Notable Women, pp. 131-132.

these pioneer individuals, including those who pursued careers as teachers and educators, that the Chinese public came to accept the ideas of educating its women.

Women's journals also began to appear advocating women's rights and a new freedom for women in Chinese society. The Wusih Pai-hua Pao, first appearing in May 1898, was particularly noteworthy as the work of a woman, Ch'iu Yu-fang, and for being written in the vernacular style.[96] Ch'en Chih-fan, started the monthly Nu Pao in Shanghai in 1902. It was at first sent out free to Su Pao subscribers and dealt with woman's status and education for girls and women. Some parts of it were written in pai-hua and a large proportion of it was translated material. Ch'iu Chin started the Chung-kuo Nu Pao in Shanghai in 1906 under her pseudonym Ching Hsuing (Challenger of Men), but it was short-lived. Peking also had its women's journals; in fact, the daily Peking Nu Pao, which was started, published, and edited entirely by women, may have been the only women's daily of its kind in the world at that time. Although it printed the usual transcript material from the Peking Gazettes, it was placed second to the news of women's organizations. The paper was highly regarded and lasted two years to be followed by the Women's Educational Daily.[97]

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[96]Within a month it was changed to a semi-monthly under the title Chung-kuo Kuan-yin Pai-hua Pao written in the Mandarin spoken style rather than the local dialect. It was not directed only at women readers but functioned as a general educational organ. Roswell S. Britton, The Chinese Periodical Press, 1800-1912 (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., 1933), pp. 97-98.

[97]Britton, Chinese Periodical Press, pp. 115-116.

These newspapers reached only a very small number of literate women, but women from the lower classes were also beginning to accept a new life style through employment in factories and domestic industries. Women who were wage-earners became an economic asset to their families, which added to their security and affected the marriage system while providing them with a new economic independence.

No other question created such heated debate in Chinese families as the question of arranged marriages. Both men and women of the younger generation, educated in the new schools and aware of new freedoms and responsibilities, came into direct conflict with their conservative parents over their right to freedom of choice in marriage. This new idea struck right at the core of the traditional family system and threatened to weaken, if not destroy, the parental control exercised over the younger generation. Although the majority of youths did not want to cut out all parental participation in their marriage decision and few ever completely disregarded parental wishes in the choice of a mate, most young people demanded some say in their marriage.[98] Many families were able to reach some compromise, although there were still examples well into the twentieth century of girls and boys forced into unwanted marriages, escapes via suicide, or fleeing to big cities.[99] However, even where familial

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[98]See the writings of P'an Kuang-Tan and Olga Lang as presented in Marion Levy, Family Revolution, p. 315.

[99]The revolt against arranged marriages reached such a pitch that the government was forced to set up houses for girls disowned by their

relations did not completely break down, the whole relationship between husband and wife was changing, as it became the core of the new family with companionship emphasized for the new couple and wives gaining more consideration as individuals.

Women were not in this fight alone and in many cases young men led the movement for emancipation. Youth of both sexes were beginning to turn their loyalty away from their families to the needs of the state and there emerged a new phenomenon--the bachelor and the spinster. Chinese school girls often became so involved in the nationalistic movements that they vowed to devote themselves entirely to their new nation and to lead single lives. With this attitude of a mission to fulfill and a contribution to be made to China, many girls turned their attention to acquiring a higher education and a profession.

> Such was my first contact with formal education in the Western mode. It was a radical departure from the kind of education which Chinese girls received at home throughout the centuries. This laid the main emphasis on educating the girl for her future tasks as a wife and mother. The womanly virtues would be her chief concern. . . . But the new idea of training young women to do more in the world of affairs than in the past had already stirred me and others of similar outlook. I could not and would not grow up in the traditional manner. I felt that I had a special role of my own to play in this transitional period which had already begun, and the proper education was essential preparation for my future work. The forces of the

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families. For examples of rebellions against arranged marriages, see Cusack, Chinese Women Speak; Hsieh Ping-ying, Autobiography of a Chinese Girl. Tanslated by Tsiu Chi. (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1943); and Roxane Witke, "Mao Tse-tung, Women and Suicide", Marilyn B. Young, Women in China (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1973).

> modern world drew me to them with an irresistible power, and nothing could stop me from attaining my goal.[100]

Marriages were delayed and even after marriage many of these women continued their careers and expected a new relationship of respect and equality with their husbands and in-laws and new rights to property, divorce, and monogamy.

Women found their social status rising and many were eager to take advantage of the new opportunities. Their role in the new China was being recognized and the greatest impediment to their progress was not usually the opposition of men but the conservative prejudices of their fellow women. Nowhere was this attitude more evident than in the question of footbinding.

The origins of the custom of footbinding are obscure. Eighth and ninth century paintings do not show T'ang women with bound feet and references to women engaging in athletic events preclude footbinding. The famous T'ang dynasty consort Yang Kuei-fei had natural feet. Evidence points to the custom beginning at the end of the T'ang dynasty or in the decades preceding the Sung as an innovation of palace dancers which gradually set the fashion for the rest of the empire. A popular account refers to the southern T'ang ruler Li Yu (ruled 961-975), who had a favorite palace concubine, Lovely Maiden, a gifted dancer. He had a six-foot high lotus constructed for her out of gold and she was ordered to bind

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[100] Madame Wei Tao-ming [Soumay Tcheng], My Revolutionary Years (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1945), pp. 30-31.

her feet with white silk cloth and dance in the centre of the lotus.[101]

Certainly by the twelfth century, footbinding had become an accepted custom and efforts were made to constrict the feet as small as possible. Also during the Sung dynasty it became part of an "ideology of feminine suppression"[102] and the cult of feminine chastity. The liberty and intellectual achievements of T'ang ladies were no longer accepted by Sung thinkers who propagated the belief that a woman of virtue should be a conventional lady of little talent. It was a disadvantage to over-educate women whose proper place was within the home. Sung philosophers, such as Chu Hsi (1130-1200), promoted footbinding as a device to ensure the separation of the sexes, and women crippled by bound feet had to remain in their apartments thus ensuring their chastity.[103] This idea prevailed until the nineteenth century and was popularized in the saying:

> Why must the foot be bound?
> To prevent barbarous running around![104]

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[101] Howard S. Levy, Chinese Footbinding: The History of a Curious Erotic Custom (New York: Walton Rawls, Publisher, 1966), pp. 38-39.

[102] Ibid., p. 41. Levy refers to the story of Chao Chun-t'ai who wanted to buy a concubine but disliked the one chosen by the go-between because she did not have bound feet. A popular poetess' retort was:

> Three-inch bowed shoes were non-existent in ages before,
> The great Kuanyin had two bare feet for one to adore.
> I don't know where this custom began:
> It must have been started by a despicable man! Ibid., p. 68.

[103] See Ibid., pp. 44-45 for Chu Hsi's actions in Fukien.

[104] Ibid., p. 41.

As the bound foot became a symbol of gentility, even the poorer classes began to bind the feet of their daughters until it became accepted that a man would not marry a natural-footed girl. As bound feet became the accepted fashion for "proper" girls, women themselves became its greatest supporters. Although mothers themselves had gone through the agony of footbinding as young girls, they showed little sympathy for their daughters who fought against the custom. Conservative families accepted the saying:

> If you care for a son, you don't go easy on his studies; if you care for a daughter, you don't go easy on her footbinding.[105]

During the Yuan and Ming dynasties the tiny foot became a love fetish and it was widely believed that sexual attraction of women rested in the mystery of their bound feet, which were almost never bared to view.[106] Thus Chinese women continued to constrict their feet into ever smaller sizes until the three inch "lily" became the ideal.

Footbinding was a Chinese custom which the Manchus never practiced and their attempts to prohibit it in 1642, 1645, 1662, and 1664 all failed. This indicated that footbinding would not be suppressed until the Chinese themselves turned against it--an ingrained custom could not be eradicated through legislation alone, public opinion must also turn against it. Foreign observers in China had been appalled by footbinding and criticized China as being barbaric in many of her social customs. The missionaries followed up this sentiment by discouraging footbinding among

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[105] Ibid., p. 49.

[106] See Ibid., for examples of erotic literature from this period.

converts to Christianity, by refusing admittance to their schools to girls whose feet were bound and by forming the Antifootbinding Society in Amoy in 1874 under Mrs. Archibald Little.

However, the practice could not really be stopped until a growing number of Chinese men took up the campaign and formed societies pledging themselves not to marry girls whose feet were bound.[107] The missionaries were not the only group to oppose footbinding in the nineteenth century; Li Ju-chen had attacked the practice in his novel as early as 1828 describing it as degrading. K'ang Yu-wei advocated abolition in Kwangtung in 1882 and started an Unbound Foot Association in Canton in 1894 and later in Shanghai.[108] In the 1890's Liang Ch'i-ch'ao was writing in favor of the abolition of footbinding and he led in the formation of a Natural Feet Society in Changsha. The agitation for its suppression grew so strong that in November 1897 the Chih-hsin pao in Macao reported that footbinding in Hunan had in fact been prohibited.[109] These "Natural Feet" societies spread rapidly in the cities but encountered much opposition in the villages. They held mass meetings and published songs and tracts to influence peasants. Finally the women themselves became involved forming

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[107] For example, young men travelling to Peking met in Nanking and discussed the desirability of education for women and suppression of footbinding. They organized themselves into a society pledging themselves to marry their sons only to natural-footed women and their daughters only into families whose girls were allowed to grow up with natural feet. Burton, Notable Women, pp. 130-131.

[108] Levy, Chinese Footbinding, p. 71.

[109] Lewis, "The Reform Movement", p. 71.

a society in Shanghai in 1895 to promote the suppression of footbinding as part of a general movement for women's rights. Gradually powerful officials and statesmen gave the natural feet movement their open support. On February 1, 1902, the Empress Dowager passed an edict aimed at the gradual suppression of the practice.

> Also as the custom of footbinding amongst Chinese women is injurious to health, the gentry and notables of Chinese descent are commanded to earnestly exhort their families and all who come under their influence to abstain henceforth from that evil practice and by these means gradually abolish the custom forever.[110]

As public opinion turned against footbinding, women began to unbind their feet--often as painful an experience as the original binding.[111] But bound feet were no longer an asset for marriage as natural-footedness became a sign of modernity. Young students refused to accept foot-bound girls as brides and young girls wanting education could not have their feet bound. By 1906 the original missionary Antifootbinding Society was transferred to Chinese leadership and they continued the agitation. However, it was not always easy to stop the custom as many women remained inaccessible within their homes and the enforcement of official orders against footbinding depended on the ability and devotion of local officials. The foot reform movement was most successful in the cities and larger urban areas as the countryside was harder to reach and there many women

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[110] Meribeth E. Cameron, The Reform Movement in China 1898-1912 (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1963), p. 62.

[111] Howard Levy, Chinese Footbinding, pp. 217-218, and 278-279.

continued to bind their feet.[112] Even within the cities, some conservative families continued to bind the feet of their daughters. As with so many other social movements the success was often superficial.

SUPERFICIALITY OF THE CHANGES

To evaluate the changes wrought in the traditional role of women in China, one can start by looking at the statistics showing the number of girls enrolled in schools,[113] but this does not reflect the quality of education they received nor the use to which they put it upon leaving school. It is even more difficult to look at changes in marriage customs and employment opportunities as again statistics cannot reflect attitudes and subtle psychological changes in individual women and their relations with their families. Education opened new avenues for many girls but only a very small percentage of China's female population was able to take advantage of it. Modern schools were not readily available, especially in rural areas, and the lack of qualified teachers and textbooks limited their success. Although some new employment opportunities were also available, these were greatly restricted. Social and familial pressures were still great and usually conservative, so that many girls, even those who had the advantages of an education, often succumbed to the old

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[112] See Ibid., p. 279 for examples. There were reports that in the 1928 march north, the Republican army still found footbound women in the villages.

[113] See Appendix IV for statistics on the number of girls enrolled in schools in this period.

patterns. Economic independence brought greater respect for girls within the families but their treatment still depended upon the highly personal and variable attitudes of their husbands and in-laws. A modern girl married into a more or less traditional family was at a grave disadvantage after marriage as she tried to adapt herself to the attitudes of her father and mother-in-law.[114] She had less escape than her young husband as she was in daily contact with her in-laws and virtually dependent on their approval. If her husband was conservative as well the conflicts between them could be very serious and the young wife still had no recourse to divorce. The traditional bride married to a modern young man was also in a position of pressure as she could not understand her husband's new ideas so foreign to her traditional upbringing and she usually found herself ignored by her husband who sought his companionship elsewhere.[115]

Faced with an unaccustomed freedom and the vagueness of the ideals of the new society, many of the young girls went to extremes. Women attending mass meetings for the first time were stirred to political

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[114] There were many examples of modern young women unhappy in traditional homes. Lin Yueh-hwa cites one, "So Shuchen, in her own sphere a perfectly competant young lady, well educated and well behaved, could not fit into the life of the Hwang family. Her different background and training were against her. She had been happy when she and her husband had their little household in Yenping. But in the village a woman of delicate health and considerable education had no place. The village knew only women with strong bodies who could work hard, cook, follow the pattern of traditional life, and bring up many children." Lin Yueh-hwa, The Golden Wing (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 120.

[115] See the stories by Pearl S. Buck. "The First Wife", Asia and the Americas, XXXI (1931), pp. 747, 753, 803-806; and "A Chinese Woman Speaks", Asia and the Americas, XXVI (1926), pp. 304-310, 356-357, 413-419, 444, 446, 448, 450-452.

fervor over questions of building railways, constitutional government, and anti-opium campaigns. National needs continued to supercede personal desires, but young girls caught up in modernization became followers of fads in Western food, dress, and speech. Even basic changes such as the appearance of Chinese girls in public involved serious social readjustments in a country where social intercourse between unmarried men and women had been virtually unknown. And, young people were impatient and in their haste to bring about changes were not always careful in their selection of new ideas or lacked understanding about the implications of such a vast social transformation. For China, this early transitional period was often fraught with tragedy and violent confrontations for all people involved.

CHAPTER IV

THE RADICAL STUDENT MOVEMENT

> The intellectual life of this period was not so much a process of shifting from one all-embracing philosophy to another as of experimenting with and selecting particular aspects of sometimes heterogeneous systems of thought that fitted immediate intellectual, emotional, and political needs.[116]

Following the Sino-Japanese war, many Chinese intellectuals had embarked on a search for new ideas, values, and techniques which would allow China to compete in a rapidly changing world of modern nations. However, this search for new ideas brought with it a dilemma for all of China's modernizers--how to adopt the modern attributes of the Western world without losing the essence of China's own culture. All of these innovators retained ties, in a greater or lesser degree, to their nation's unique history and culture; and the predominant question was how to modernize without destroying their country's own character. For as Liang Ch'i-ch'ao expressed their concern,

> A nation has its character as an individual has his. . . . To lose one's character is to lose one's essence. The same is true of a nation. Because of their distinctive characters, nations develop separate existences. Without its own character, a nation cannot begin to exist. If the character of an established nation remains unfulfilled, that nation will remain weak. When a nation loses its character because of radical change, it perishes.[117]

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[116] Maurice Meisner, Li Ta-chao and the Origins of Chinese Marxism (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 20.

[117] Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Kuo-hsing lun" (On National Character), Tan, Chinese Political Thought in the Twentieth Century (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1971), pp. 36-37.

This search for a Chinese identity led K'ang Yu-wei and other early reformers into the study of Confucianism through the Chinese Classics and a reinterpretation of Chinese history. It led to a movement for governmental and institutional reform within the traditional society, but as the younger intellectuals broadened their contacts with the West and its philosophies, a new modern Chinese nationalism[118] developed in response to the introduction of many elements of modern Western culture. Intellectual leaders like Yen Fu, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, and later Sun Yat-sen began a selective borrowing of particular ideas from many different Western, Japanese, and classical Chinese sources. These ideas were often used for purposes far removed from their original premises. Many influential writers like Liang had only a superficial knowledge of Western philosophies; and relying heavily on Japanese translations and their own limited understanding of the West, they often failed to appreciate the subtleties of what they preached. Many Western theories were distorted, consciously or unconsciously, while passing through several translators. This was particularly true of supposedly all-inclusive dogmas, such as social Darwinism and "scientism".

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[118] Schwartz, In Search of Wealth and Power, p. 19, describes modern nationalism: "Where the commitment to the preservation and advancement of the societal entity known as the nation takes priority over commitment to all other values and beliefs, where other values and beliefs are judged in terms of their relevance to this end rather than vice versa, nationalism in a precise sense is already on the scene." Although pride in the "national past" is often an important part of this nationalism, the nationalist picks and chooses from the past without a commitment to the total belief system.

Social Darwinism had a virtually universal appeal to the younger generations in China at the turn of the century. Its initial popularity may have stemmed from the ease by which its slogans could be applied to the situation in which China found herself in relation to the other countries. This theory of historical development corresponded to the unhappy experiences of nineteenth century China and offered a plausible reason for her decline. More importantly, it also showed the way out of her dilemma by making it possible for China also to progress. Evolutionism was first preached by Ma Chun-wu through his translations of Darwin's The Origin of Species and The Descent of Man, as well as works by Spencer and Haeckel.[119] Yen Fu then captured the imagination of China's intelligentsia with his more elaborate studies of wealth and power and evolutionism.

Like many other literati, Yen Fu was interested in discovering the secrets of Western military, economic and political power; but unlike the others, he was also interested in what Western thinkers had written about these matters. Unlike his predecessors who looked only at technological and military improvements, Yen began the study of Western thought. Through his translations of Thomas Huxley's Evolution and Ethics, Herbert Spencer's The Study of Sociology, John Stuart Mill's On Liberty and System of Logic, Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations,

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[119] O. S. J. Briere, Fifty Years of Chinese Philosophy, 1898-1948. Translated by Laurence G. Thompson. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1965), p. 20.

Montesquieu's L'Esprit des lois, and E. Jenk's History of Politics, Yen was attempting to discover the essential differences between Western and Chinese civilizations and to interest the new elite in these ideas.

Yen had been drawn to the ideas of evolution and the social application of the struggle for survival during his stay in England. At a time when the theories of Darwin, Huxley, and Spencer were shaking the intellectual world of Europe, Yen was attracted to social Darwinism because of its emphasis on the power of the individual and nation in a competitive world system. Searching for the sources of Western wealth and power, Yen stressed the differing Western and Chinese attitudes toward human energy--for as the West exalted action, assertiveness, struggle, and dynamism, China stressed passivity, balance, and stability.

With his translation of Huxley's Evolution and Ethics in 1898, Yen introduced the terminology of evolution into China. By 1902 his translation had become famous and expressions such as "struggle for existence", "natural selection", and "survival of the fittest" were current in contemporary publications discussing the political problems of China.

> Within a few years of its publication Evolution and Ethics gained widespread popularity throughout the country, and even became reading matter for middle school students. Very few who read the book could understand [the significance of] Huxley's contribution to scientific and intellectual history. What they did understand was the significance of such phrases as 'the strong are victorious and the weak perish' [yu sheng lieh-pai] as they applied to international politics. . . . Within a few years these ideas spread like a prairie fire, setting ablaze the hearts, and blood of many young people. Technical terms like 'evolution' [t'ao-t'ai] and 'natural selection' [t'un-tse] became common in journalistic prose, and slogans on the lips of patriotic young heroes.[120]

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[120]Hu Shih, A Self-Account at Forty, pp. 49-50 quoted in Jerome

From evolutionism, Yen accepted the concepts of competition, but unlike many others of his generation, he did not blame imperialism for China's weakness. Her weakness stemmed from her own unfitness rather than from the depredations of the West. In order to assume her position in a competitive world China must reevaluate her own concepts. Whereas the Chinese had always stressed order, stability, and social harmony; westerners believed in the benefits accruing from struggle and competition. And, it was this competition which furthered fitness by bringing out the potential abilities of each individual. Thus, competition and struggle were the keys to progress.

The Western nations were strong because they allowed their individual members to utilize fully their innate abilities; thus, fulfilling the needs of society and building up the nation's wealth and power. Yen had great praise for this "public spirit" as he perceived it in England. To Yen the miracle of the West lay in its ability to promote the constructive self-interest of the individual, to release individual energies, and yet harness these energies for collective goals. Unlike China, the people had identified their own interests with the interest of the nation-state.[121] Therefore, Yen turned his attention to strengthening the physical, intellectual, and moral power of the Chinese people. He attacked the curse of opium and the practice of footbinding while stressing

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B. Grieder, Hu Shih and the Chinese Renaissance (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), pp. 26-27.

[121]Schwartz, In Search of Wealth and Power, p. 70.

the need for physical fitness and endurance for all Chinese, even for women so that healthy mothers might produce strong children.[122]

Throughout his writings Yen's overriding concern was with the survival of the Chinese nation. Chinese values, institutions, and ideas were judged by this one criterion alone--would they preserve and strengthen the nation-state? Nothing was sacred if it impeded China's growth. However, Yen saw Chinese culture as forever changing and he could genuinely find common ideas in East and West and see value in both cultures. For example, while accepting filial piety as a social discipline, he could attack other facets of the family system, such as the subjugation of women and exaggerated loyalty to the family above all else, as weakening the Chinese state.

However, through his study of evolution, Yen rejected revolution and thus, by 1903 was largely left behind by China's youth. Yen saw the evolution of the human race as a long, slow, cumulative process and did not believe that the general will of an uneducated people alone would enable the nation to skip any stages. These people must be guided by an educated elite towards enlightenment and self-government; therefore, Yen gave his support to the Manchu reform movement at a time when many of the more radical students were moving towards revolution.

From their study of Western writings, other Chinese scholars developed a respect for impartial or scientific truth which in its more

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[122] Ibid., p. 86.

radical form, "scientism",[123] became a whole new value system to replace Confucianism. Basic to this theory was the assumption that science was ultimately good and that the scientific method was the only way to find truth and knowledge. Therefore "scientism" tended to stand against any thing that could not be verified and was highly critical of religion and popular beliefs. And yet, for its more emotional adherents "scientism" became almost a religious substitute. Although "scientism" did not really flower in China until after the revolution, the beginnings of its dogmatism were evident in the Chinese approach to evolution in which the Darwinian hypothesis of natural selection became the law of organic evolution.[124] Although social Darwinism was a European development, virtually all Chinese intellectuals who admired Western civilization accepted its premises.

Chinese conditions at the beginning of the twentieth century made the application of Western science virtually impossible; but perhaps, as Kwok suggests, China's very technological weakness nurtured an idealistic enthusiasm for science as a theory. With "scientism" assuming that all aspects of the universe were knowable through the methods of science, many intellectuals began to use science to discredit and replace traditional

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[123] Kwok defines "scientism" as "the view which places all reality within a natural order and deems all aspects of this order, be they biological, social, physical, or psychological, to be knowable only by the methods of science." D. W. Y. Kwok, Scientism in Chinese Thought 1900-1950 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 21.

[124] Ibid., p. 30 and p. 26.

values. Unfortunately, "scientism" also involved a tendency to use the respectability of science in areas having little bearing on science itself.[125]

However, these problems of searching for new values were hardly considered by the majority of reformers and revolutionaries.[126] Their main concern remained the preservation of China as a nation and the development of a true nationalism amongst the Chinese people. For the more radical students, action took precedence over theory and they were more interested in overthrowing the Ch'ing dynasty than in planning for what should replace it. With the Chinese press vividly picturing the prospect of a general dismemberment of China, the urgent need for modernization had replaced the questioning of its relevancy. Most of the students blamed their own government for China's precarious position due to its inadequacies in diplomacy and defence. Manchu support of the

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[125] Ibid., pp. 34-37.

[126] The differences between reformers and revolutionaries were often blurred during this early period. The basic differences were not in ultimate goals for China but in the ways to achieve these goals. The reformers were willing to work under the dynasty, whereas the revolutionaries wanted to overthrow the Manchus; the reformers generally sought change within tradition, whereas the revolutionaries were more willing to depart from China's traditions. However these distinctions were not always clear and many individuals held both positions at different times. Following Mary Rankin's definition, radicals generally desired sweeping changes and the revolutionaries later worked to establish a republic. Revolutionaries could be, but were not always, intellectuals. Professional revolutionaries were members of a revolutionary party or group who were seriously devoting much of their time to party work and plots to overthrow the government. They were smaller in numbers and more politically involved than the radicals but sometimes indistinguishable from them. Rankin, Early Chinese Revolutionaries, p. 1.

Boxer movement had only discredited the government and students accepted the premise that only their overthrowal would save China. The 1904-1905 Russo-Japanese war, which was fought on and for Chinese territory while the Chinese government did nothing, only intensified feelings against the Manchus. Belated Ch'ing efforts at reform were often looked upon as a further sign of weakness and could never satisfy the increasingly radical student population.

The Chinese press had begun to play an important role in the growth of Chinese political agitation as both reformers and revolutionaries used it to appeal to the literate public to support their programs. Even before the coup of 1898, the reformers had founded periodicals to keep the people well informed about domestic and foreign events. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao raised journalism to a new preeminence as an educating medium to introduce a more modern outlook on national affairs. Concentrating on the pressing need to awaken the Chinese people to an awareness of their duties to their nation, Liang and others attempted to gain their support for modernization and stir them to a new sense of nationalism.

Chinese nationalism was not simply an outgrowth of the 1894-1895 war with Japan. Even earlier contacts between a small number of thoughtful Chinese and Westerners had brought a new vision of the world beyond China. Men like Yen Fu had begun to study the bases of Western wealth and power, and there had been a complementary growth of the idea of a cohesive national unity based on the sharing of interests and goals between ruler and ruled. This was the beginning of the acceptance of the idea of constitutional monarchy as a method to bridge the gap between the

monarch and his subjects and to release the collective energy of the populace.[127] Thus, following Meiji Japan's model, China would regain her rightful position among the nations of the world. Nationalism was the key and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao its most effective advocate.

> Few writers at the turn of the century exerted a greater influence on the Chinese than Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (1873-1929). He turned his breadth of view and grasp of issues to a great variety of subjects, including philosophy, literature, history, Western thought, and Oriental religions, but his main concern was with politics and economics. He wrote with eloquence and emotion, mingling brilliant images and homely examples, literary allusions and fiery arguments; and while some of his contemporaries may not have agreed with him, they all read him eagerly.[128]

When Liang arrived in Japan in 1898 he immediately resumed magazine publication--the Ch'ing-i pao (Public Opinion) from 1898 to 1902, which contained some of Liang's most revolutionary statements, and the Hsin-min ts'ung-pao (The New People's Miscellany) from 1903 to 1907, which mirrored a gradual political change in Liang's thinking and became the vehicle for Liang's debates with Sun Yat-sen and the revolutionists. There can be no doubt that Liang was the foremost publicist of this period and that his ideas were the ones which first awakened many Chinese students to the questions of nationalism and revolution.

> . . . when we were young, we studied the eight-legged essay and the orthodox old learning. Often we disdained those scholars and officials who studied European languages and talked about the new learning. . . . Only later when we read

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[127] See Paul A. Cohen, "Wang Tao and Incipient Chinese Nationalism", Journal of Asian Studies, XXVI: 4 (August, 1967), pp. 561-567, for the development of this early Chinese nationalism based on individual contacts with Europeans and the rapid growth of literature on the West in the 1890's.

[128] Chester C. Tan, Chinese Political Thought, p. 30.

> K'ang Yu-wei and his student Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's writings, did we suddenly realize that foreign political principles, religions and learning had much to offer. . . . The fact that we today have some knowledge of the world is entirely the gift of Mr. K'ang and Mr. Liang. . . . Subsequently Mr. Liang taught while we learned, and contributed much to our people.[129]

Because Liang never learned a Western language, his introduction to Western thought was largely through the medium of Japanese translations and his contacts with Japanese intellectuals. "His ideas were a result of an interaction between his Confucian ideas and Western ideas that had been filtered through Japanese selection and interpretation.[130] Therefore, many of Liang's ideas showed a distortion of Western concepts based partially on his lack of knowledge of the West and secondly on his subconscious or conscious attempt to mold these ideas to fit the Chinese situation. However, Liang's contribution to modern Chinese intellectual thought should not be dismissed because of these flaws as his insight into Western philosophies, and more importantly, his ability to communicate these ideas to China's students played a vital role in subsequent developments.

Liang saw himself in a transitional period and felt it to be his duty to bring as many new ideas to China as possible. The ideas might conflict and Liang might change his position on basic issues, but what

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[129] Quoting Ch'en Tu-hsiu in Huang, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, p. 7. Also, Mao Tse-tung talks of worshipping K'ang and Liang when he was sixteen and rereading Liang's essays to learn them by heart.

[130] Ibid., p. 9.

was important to Liang was to make these ideas available to the new scholarly elite of China. Liang looked at the question of revolution and introduced Rousseau to China's students. He wrote biographies of Cavour and Mazzini and studied Italian unification. For several years Liang was engrossed in the theories of social Darwinism and united these theories with his concept of nationalism. Liang saw nationalism as being fostered by the establishment of constitutional and representative government. It was popular participation in government which gave the people a sense of common identity with the nation--a quality the Chinese people lacked. Following Yen Fu's studies of wealth and power, Liang also saw the power of Western nations as based on the combined energies of individuals motivated by competition and personal liberty. He looked at England and saw a powerful nation because of her representative institutions; he saw how Meiji Japan had modernized successfully by adopting a constitution and representative institutions. The conclusion was obvious: "liberty" and a new morality would foster the growth of energetic individuals who would in turn assure the modernization and power of the Chinese nation.[131]

Through the pages of the Hsin-min ts'ung-pao, Liang advocated the development of a new Chinese man and a synthesis of the old and new which included a reevaluation of China's traditional culture and the critical adaptation of certain elements of Western culture. Liang's "new citizen" idea was based partially on his Confucian stress of morality and the

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[131]Huang, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, pp. 76-77.

importance of the attitudes of men, and secondly, on the Yen Fu idea that an awakened citizenry would generate the necessary energy for national power. Liang's basic assumption was that any program of change must begin with the modernization of attitudes and values of the people.[132] These ideas were brought together in 1903 in a series of essays on the "new people", in which Liang criticized the "slavish character" of the Chinese people who had unquestioningly accepted the thought of the ancients and the dictates of custom and waited for change to be initiated by a benevolent ruler instead of developing their own independent thought and introducing change themselves. Liang wrote to arouse the "new citizen" towards an understanding that his nation's interests were also his own. Liang's ideas on the "new citizen" were accepted by everyone from constitutionalist to revolutionist and one side effect was in the "mushrooming" of newspapers after 1900 as everyone attempted to influence this new public opinion.

As Liang was the starting point for many of the ideas accepted by the revolutionaries,[133] he also came very close to joining them in the fight against the tottering Manchu dynasty. Liang's revolutionary statements went back as far as 1897 when as a lecturer at the Academy of Current Affairs in Hunan, he had called for min-chuan ("political authority for

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[132] Ibid., p. 162.

[133] As Schiffrin declares, "Sun claimed to be practicing revolution; Liang actually taught revolution. Sun himself, for all his research in London's libraries, had much to learn about nationalism, democracy and socialism from his reformist rival." Harold Z. Schiffrin, Sun Yat-sen and the Origins of the Chinese Revolution (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), p. 162.

the people") and had aroused anti-Manchu feelings by distributing pamphlets like Ten Days Sacking of Yang Chou, which purported to be a record of Manchu brutalities in that city in 1645. In Japan, he continued to level scathing attacks on the Manchus; at first, directing his attack against the Empress Dowager and her followers who had imprisoned the Kuang-hsu Emperor, but later attacking the whole Ch'ing court. He came in contact with Sun Yat-sen and other revolutionists and even joined with other disillusioned reformists in urging K'ang Yu-wei to retire. Liang was also building up a personal following among his former students from Hunan and the more radical elements in K'ang's group, and it was this group which began plotting an armed uprising in 1900 to restore the Emperor to the throne.[134]

After the failure of the 1900 uprising led by T'ang Ts'ai-ch'ang, Liang became increasingly radical in his attacks on the Manchu government. The Boxer fiasco Liang blamed on the stupidity of the Ch'ing court, and he was humiliated by the foreign invasion. He did not believe that the court was sincere in its professed desire to introduce reforms; and out of his despair, Liang advocated the "destruction of the Manchus" who were too decadent and hopeless to lead China's reform.[135] Therefore, Liang's

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[134] For details of this rebellion, see Edmund S. K. Fung, "The T'ang Ts'ai-ch'ang Revolt", Papers on Far Eastern History, I (March, 1970), pp. 70-114; and E. Joan Smythe, "The Tzu-li Hui: Some Chinese and Their Rebellion", Papers on China, XII (December, 1958), pp. 51-68.

[135] "Destruction" was a commonly used word and did not necessarily mean a violent revolution to Liang. However, Liang's radicalism in this period was to have a profound effect on the young students. Schiffrin, Sun Yat-sen, p. 162.

emphasis on nationalism during these years included an anti-Manchu sentiment. For a national state to develop, the Chinese must first develop a national or racial consciousness involving loyalty to the state rather than loyalty to the ruling dynasty; and this nation must be built on the same language, customs, thought, and legal systems. Therefore, Liang saw racial consciousness as a way to unite the Chinese people and give the country internal strength. He was also inadvertently laying the groundwork for the acceptance of Sun's more radical anti-Manchuism.

During this period when Liang was still undecided about the merits of revolution, he came in contact with Sun Yat-sen, who was also residing in Japan and expressed an interest in uniting with K'ang and Liang. Although K'ang refused even to meet with Sun, Liang did see him several times in 1899 and there were a few months when it looked as if Liang was moving towards the revolutionary camp. However, K'ang and basic differences between Liang and Sun soon intervened. K'ang strongly disapproved of any connection with Sun, and Liang spent the next two years recruiting members for the Pao-huang hui, often to Sun's detriment. Following Liang's successes in America in 1903, Sun publicly declared that Liang was the enemy of the revolutionary movement.[136] However, Liang had already begun to draw back from his earlier radical stands to adopt a more moderate approach with a constitutional monarchy cited as the ideal for China. His 1903 trip to America seemed to be a turning point in his career and any further collaboration with Sun became an impossibility. The reformist

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[136] Chang, "Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (1873-1929): A Political Study". Ph.D. thesis. University of Alberta, 1971, p. 94.

and revolutionist camps had irretrievably parted.

Although Liang had toyed with revolutionary ideas, he had consistently held to the belief that a nation was dependent on an active and nationalistic citizenry. After 1903, he felt that it would take a long time to develop this "new citizenry" in China and that the steadying influence of a constitutional monarchy was essential. To Liang, the form of government, whether republican or monarchical, had always been of secondary importance as long as it allowed active participation by his "new citizens". Sun could not accept this as the anti-Manchu revolution was the core of his program and republican government portrayed as the panacea to all China's ills.[137]

Liang had been willing to look at the ideas of revolution but after 1903 he had concluded that it was incompatible with the salvation of his nation. He had always seen his newspaper as a guide for the people and had no qualms about changing his stand in response to the needs of the time as he saw them. However, this approach, which often appeared contradictory and opportunistic, now cost Liang some of his student support as the students were looking for more simplistic, straight-forward answers. By 1905, Liang had identified himself with the forces of orderly reform; whereas the majority of the activist students in Japan and China had moved on to revolution and thus to support for Sun.

> Inevitably Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's behavior affected the political fortunes of Sun Yat-sen. Although Sun did not realize it yet, he was attacking a position that Liang had already vacated.

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[137] Huang, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, p. 93.

> In fact, it was Liang's voluntary abdication rather than Sun's attacks which cleared the way for Sun's rise as the spokesman for unconditional revolution.[138]

Thus, Sun was able to unite the students under the banner of the T'ung-meng hui.

During the first five years of Sun's revolutionary career (1894-1900), his influence was restricted to Kwangtung province and a few overseas Chinese. Unlike the reform movement led by K'ang Yu-wei, which had a tremendous impact on the nation, the revolutionary movement was hardly noticed by the people of the time.[139] When Sun had formed his first organization in Hawaii on November 24, 1894, he was only able to recruit twenty members because of political apathy and a fear of reprisals to families remaining in China. The Hsing-chung hui had only one hundred members at the time of the Canton uprising in October 1895. And even within the organization's regulations, there was no anti-dynastic purpose revealed in the slogan "revive China". Although Sun's real intention was to gain support for armed revolt against the Manchu government and intimate followers accepted this aim, the majority of the members knew only the purpose of strengthening China and opposing foreign aggression. There was no commitment to establish a republican form of government.[140]

During the years 1900 to 1905, Sun gained the undisputed leadership

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[138] Schiffrin, Sun Yat-sen, p. 324.

[139] Hsueh Chun-tu, Huang Hsing and the Chinese Revolution (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1961), p. 33.

[140] Schiffrin, Sun Yat-sen, pp. 41-42.

of the Hsing-chung hui and spent most of his time travelling. It was during this period that there was a tremendous growth of anti-Manchu sentiment among the Chinese students. However, it was a spontaneous movement and Sun had little contact with the students who generally regarded him as uncultured and illiterate--a "tough guy" or "romantic thief". Or, as Wu Chih-hui expressed it,

> I did not like Sun Yat-sen at first because he was not of the literati nor did he hold any degree under the old civil service examinations. Besides, I suspected him of being illiterate.[141]

In 1903, Sun made the first major revision in the Hsing-chung hui oath by declaring for the establishment of a republic. Sun was more than willing to admit that his ideas came from the West: he saw China adopting democracy and republicanism to "follow the world currents". He used democracy and republicanism interchangeably for in his mind the ultimate goal of the revolution was democracy and the best way of attaining it was under a republican government. Discounting Liang's contention that the Chinese people did not possess the necessary qualifications for citizenship in a republic, Sun asserted that the "naturally endowed democratic ability" of the Chinese people was shown through their capacity for village self-rule. Sun reiterated his preference for a republic by stating that: (1) a republic was the most advanced form in the West and thus should be adopted by China to speed her modernization; (2) constitutional monarchy did not suit the Chinese situation because China had had an absolute monarchy for so long that the throne would only serve as a

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[141] Hsueh, Huang Hsing, p. 36.

focus for personal ambition; and (3) a constitutional monarchy was impossible under the Manchus because of racial differences and their position as a minority with special status and powers.

In 1904 Sun went overseas to rebuild his organizations and attack Liang and the reformist contention that the deficiency of self-governing experience made a constitutional monarchy more suitable for China than a republic. In Japan Liang was cautioning the students against "rash action" and "destruction" and went so far as to publish an advertisement in his own paper stating that he would never again advocate revolution and that he rejected republicanism.[142] Liang returned to social Darwinism stating that nations which were united and fit would survive while those torn by internal strife would be destroyed. A strong ruler was necessary for national survival and to maintain domestic tranquility during the transitional phase when the people were being educated for republican government. This new theory brought Liang into direct confrontation with Sun's idea of republicanism as the great panacea.[143]

Liang's first concern had always been for the sovereignty and survival of the Chinese nation and he feared that internal disorders would be used as a pretext for intervention by the foreign powers. He rejected

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[142] Chang, "Liang Ch'i-ch'ao", p. 88.

[143] Min-pao writers, Wang Ching-wei, Hu Han-min, and Chang Ping-lin, won Chinese student support with the thesis that China could catch up with and surpass the West by a speedy revolution. Sun used the ancient phrase "make one all-out effort and be forever after at ease". His "men of determination" could provide strong leadership and thus speed up the process of modernization. Fairbank, East Asia, p. 638.

the anti-Manchu movement as only widening the divisions in China[144] and weakening the state. However, this did not mean that Liang had forgotten his strong resentment against the Manchus but only that he felt that the survival of China was more important.

> I have no affection for the Manchus. Whenever I read the 'Ten Days in Yang-chow' and the 'Massacre of the City of Chia-ting' by the Manchu conquerors, my eyes overflow with warm tears. Therefore, several years ago, I advocated anti-Manchuism; even though my teacher and friends reprimanded me everyday, I refused to change my mind. Even today, my feeling is still the same. . . . If there is a way which can save the nation and at the same time help us to take revenge against the Manchus, I would certainly be delighted to follow it. . . . Unfortunately, the two, the saving of the nation and the revenge, are incompatible. To take revenge it is necessary to have violent revolution, and a violent revolution must . . . necessarily terminate the life of the nation. . . . I prefer to bear humiliation under the Manchu regime rather than to become a man without a nation.[145]

However, Liang found it increasingly difficult to convince the student population and Sun was successful in linking the republican and racial themes. With the death of the Kuang-hsu emperor in November 1908, the reform movement suffered a serious blow, but Manchu failings had already weakened Liang's case for continuing their rule. After the formation of the T'ung-meng hui, many Chinese students in Tokyo deserted the Pao-huang hui

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[144] Sun had already begun to caution his followers against confusing the objectives of a national revolution with blind hatred of the Manchus. He wanted to drive the Manchus from political control not extinquish them as a race. Sun attacked the prophets of revenge and Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei stressed that the nature of the anti-Manchu movement should be political not racial. Lee, Foundations of Chinese Revolution, pp. 54-55.

[145] Chang, "Liang Ch'i-ch'ao", p. 97.

to join the revolutionary camp. As Liang wrote to K'ang in November 1906, "The revolutionists are quite strong in Tokyo. Among the 10,000 Chinese students in Japan, over one-half followed the revolutionary cause."[146] However, the student movement, which climaxed after 1905, had already passed Liang by as it became more radical and activist.

CHINESE STUDENTS IN JAPAN

China's defeat by a modernizing Japan in 1895 had led many of the reformers to look more closely at Japan as a model for Chinese modernization. Following the Boxer defeat, when the Chinese government itself engaged in a monumental effort to avoid partition by assimilating many of the political and social institutions of the West, Japanese successes were carefully studied.

All reformers had been agreed that reform of the ancient Chinese educational system was fundamental, and one of the points stressed by government officials like Chang Chih-tung was the need to send students abroad to acquire a modern education.[147] In response the throne had passed edicts in 1901 and 1902 providing for the selection of students to go abroad and providing for their expenses and for special examinations

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[146] Lee, Foundations of Chinese Revolution, p. 54.

[147] Chang Chih-tung wrote, "Travel abroad for one year is more profitable than study at home for five years. It has been well said that seeing is a hundred times better than hearing. One year's study in foreign institutions is better than three years in a Chinese." South China Morning Post, Monday, November 30, 1903, p. 4.

upon their return in order to secure government appointments for them. The last obstacle thwarting modern education was removed in 1905 with the abolition of the traditional examination system. Thousands of students began to flock overseas as "returned students" became the new intellectual elite.

Although some students chose to go to America or Europe, the vast majority went to Japan. Whereas in 1902 there were only about 270 students in Japan, by 1906 there were over 10,000 Chinese students studying primarily in Tokyo.[148] There were many reasons why the Chinese students preferred to continue their studies in Japan. There had been an early emphasis on Japan expressed in the writings of Chang Chih-tung and K'ang Yu-wei, and Japan's military victories in 1894 and 1904 gave her a new prestige. Japan's geographical proximity made her attractive for students interested in taking special short courses, and living expenses and tuition fees were much lower than in America or Europe. Cultural and linguistic similarities made it easier for Chinese students to adapt to the new environment. Moreover, the Japanese authorities had made conscious efforts to encourage the Chinese to study there. They had established special schools for Chinese-students and allowed large numbers of Chinese to enter governmental and private schools.[149] Japan was proud to act as

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[148] Robert A. Scalapino, "Prelude to Marxism: The Chinese Student Movement in Japan, 1900-1910", Albert Feuerwerker, Rhoads Murphey, and Mary C. Wright, ed., Approaches to Modern Chinese History (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), p. 192.

[149] For example, in 1898 the Japanese government offered 200 scholarships to Chinese students and set up a Sino-Japanese school

an intellectual centre for the young Chinese and was also interested in gaining influence in China to oppose Russian expansionism. In 1904, China reorganized her educational system along Japanese lines in matters of curricula and methods of instruction so that not only were students drawn to Japan but Japanese teachers became increasingly important in China. Consequently there was a steady rise in the number of Chinese students in Japan after 1902 until there was an average of 100 new students a month by 1904; 1905 saw the monthly increment rise to 500: and in 1906 the figure nearly doubled before the Chinese government instituted regulations which caused a rapid falling off in numbers.[150]

With the growth in numbers there was a substantial change in student attitudes. The earliest Chinese students had generally been well-acquainted with their own history and literature and had selected areas of the "new learning" which would add to their general knowledge. They were generally more conservative and advocated gradual change in China. In contrast, the students who flocked to Japan from 1904 to 1909 were younger and knowing less about their own culture, were more enamoured with the "new learning" and advocated rapid change.[151]

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especially for Chinese students. Another school for Chinese students to study the Japanese language and general courses was added in 1902. The majority of the Chinese students went to Tokyo, Kyoto, Nagoya, Sendai, Osaka, Okayama, and Nagasaki to study. Hsiao, History of Modern Education, pp. 97-98.

[150] Figures based on those given in the Japan Weekly Mail as quoted by Roger F. Hackett, "Chinese Students in Japan, 1900-1910", Papers on China, III (May, 1949), pp. 141-142.

[151] Ibid., pp. 143-144.

By 1903 there was developing in Japan a student movement which was no longer committed to Chinese culture but was imbued with the spirit of modern nationalism. For many of these students their nationalism involved a strain of anti-Manchuism as they attacked the government for its inability to safeguard the nation. As many authors have pointed out, the Manchus were actually sowing the seeds for their own destruction as these students became a progressive element unable to fit itself into the traditional patterns and therefore, looking favorably at reform or revolution.

By 1906, all provinces were represented by students in Japan, although the majority came from Hupeh, Hunan, Kiangsu, Kwangtung, and Chekiang. Generally there were three types of students: (1) those sponsored by the central government, (2) those sponsored by their own provinces, and (3) those under private sponsorship. Only government students could enroll in military schools so large numbers of students enrolled in courses in economics, law, political science, and practical courses in agriculture and mining. China was not interested in training government officials and educators as well as technical experts. The overwhelming majority of these students were from the middle and upper classes and looked forward to lucrative government appointments on their return from Japan.

As over ninety per cent of the students from China were concentrated in one section of Tokyo, it was almost inevitable that they would form organizations to represent their interests. The earliest association was the Chinese Student Union founded in 1903 as a social and political

centre. Within two years it had a membership of 4,500[152] and stimulated the growth of provincial clubs which also served as meeting places and provided counselling and help for new students. In the spring of 1904, a revolutionary society, the Hua-hsing hui (Society for the Revival of China), was set up by students from Hunan led by Huang Hsing. The avowed purpose was to overthrow the Manchus, and Huang and others returned to China to launch an uprising in Hunan.[153]

One of the main activities of these student organizations was the printing of publications. The Kuo-min pao (Chinese National) appeared on May 10, 1901, the first newspaper by Chinese students in Japan to expound revolutionary ideas. The student organs represented the full spectrum of political thought with the majority emphasizing the need for reform and the idea "China for the Chinese". Each paper was published by a group of students from the same province; for example, Translations by Hunan Students Abroad, which contained translations of Western and Japanese works plus commentaries on Chinese domestic affairs and world events. Other

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[152] Ibid., p. 145.

[153] Huang had been a respected and influential teacher in several Changsha schools in 1903 before his teaching of revolutionary ideas forced his resignation. His influence over his young students was great. Huang's planned revolt on November 16, 1904, was thwarted by the Hunan authorities who discovered the plot and ordered Huang's arrest on October 24, 1904. Huang was able to escape to Japan where he became a rallying point for radical students and was later influential in uniting with Sun to form the T'ung-meng hui. Huang was the military leader for the revolutionists and early recognized the importance of uniting army, student, and secret society elements in any attempts at revolt. For more details on the life and influence of Huang Hsing, see Hsueh, Huang Hsing.

papers included the Hupeh Students' Circle, Voice of the Han, Tide of Chekiang, and New Hunan. Most articles displayed an interplay of pessimism and hope as students feared for China's future and were depressed by the indifference of the Chinese people to their fate. For many students the central problem was how to reshape the character of the Chinese man and woman, to arouse a feeling of patriotism as part of a respect for themselves and their country. However, out of their despair there still appeared a hope for salvation as more people, especially among the student population itself, assumed the burden and showed an appreciation of China's intrinsic worth. Many authors discussed their preferences for republicanism and constitutionalism to build up the political power of the nation and all valued science, militarism, and industrial power. Throughout they showed an ambivalence towards the West swinging from anti-foreignism to exaggerated respect for Western "civilization". The whole question of revolution, as discussed by Liang and Sun, was repeated in student publications; but by 1905 Liang's arguments were receiving less attention as the students swung their support to Sun. Few of the student writers looked beyond the revolution and while praising education as the answer to all China's ills, they seemed unaware of the implications involved in transplanting Western values to Chinese society.[154] Moreover, the student publications had an influence far beyond the student population in Japan as special agents distributed them among students in China.

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[154] See Scalapino, "Prelude to Marxism", for a detailed discussion of these student writings.

Although most of the students who went to Japan remained primarily interested in their studies, a growing number were showing an inclination towards radicalization. They could not help but be struck by the differences between Japan and China. The modernization in Tokyo showed dramatically the possibilities of applying Western learning to transportation, communication, and industry. Everywhere they saw the stark contrast between Japanese progress and their homeland's backwardness. Moreover, the young students were removed from the social controls of their families and homes and acquired a new freedom of thought and expression which often brought them into conflict with the Chinese authorities. They were also faced with serious mental adjustments which were aggravated by their youthfulness and their concern for China. Mental breakdowns were not uncommon and many students felt themselves driven to desperate acts. As the students became more aggressive, they encountered growing hostility from their Japanese hosts, who often disapproved of their personal habits and resented their disorderliness. The students often felt uncomfortable in Japan, and although they largely escaped racial prejudice as such, they resented the Japanese air of superiority, especially prevalent in the Japanese press.[155]

However, the main political influences on the students did not come from their Japanese education but from their own writers. As students began to search for Western answers to their nation's dilemma, they turned increasingly to Japanese translations--the major period of

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[155]Hackett, "Chinese Students in Japan", pp. 146-147.

Japanese influence lasting from 1902 to 1907. Translations of Japanese works on politics, law, history, and geography were emphasized by students interested in the Meiji constitution and institutional reforms as models for China. Political philosophies such as anarchism and socialism were also introduced from Japanese sources, but the students received these ideas through the medium of writers like Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. Their lack of a thorough understanding of Western ideas and reliance on Japanese translations led to a distortion of ideas, often to fit preconceived theories. But, their readings did raise doubts in their minds about China's traditions and their dissatisfaction led them to a further examination of the dynasty. Revolutionary writers, such as Wang Ching-wei and Chang Ping-lin, stirred up anti-Manchu feelings to a fever pitch, and attempted to build on the ideas of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao to foster a new loyalty to the nation rather than to the ruling dynasty.

Because the students were close to their homeland, they never lost touch with events in China and their natural inclination towards action involved them in several protest measures. On April 26, 1902, the Chinese students in Japan planned to commemorate the 242 anniversary of the Manchu conquest but the meeting was forbidden by the Japanese authorities. A few months later, a number of Chinese students quarreled with the Chinese envoy in Japan, Ts'ai Chun, because he reportedly refused to recommend that they be allowed to study in Japanese military schools at their own expense. In the winter of 1902, some students organized a Young Men's Association advocating nationalism and violence. This talk of revolution and bloodshed led Liu Chen-yu of Hupeh to make an

impassioned Chinese New Year's speech on January 29, 1903, at a party attended by 1,000 people and the Chinese minister, Ts'ai Chun, who immediately had him expelled from school.[156]

These minor confrontations provided a background of hostility and suspicion which flared into a major conflict in the spring of 1903. On April 28, a Japanese newspaper in Tokyo published the Russian demands concerning the withdrawal of its troops from Manchuria. The Chinese students lost no time in launching their protest, and the Young Men's Association now led by Huang Hsing proposed the organization of a student volunteer corps to fight the Russians. More than 130 students volunteered, along with twelve women students who signed up for nursing duties. A Student Army was organized on May 2, 1903, and two representatives were sent to China to present student views to the government. However, the Student Army was immediately disbanded by the Japanese government following a request from the Peking authorities. In response, the more radical students, like Huang Hsing, founded an organization called the Association for Universal Military Education, which aimed to overthrow the Manchu dynasty. Its principles clearly showed why the Manchu government feared the Student Army led by these radicals.

> Why was the Student Army organized? . . . Was it for the defense of our nation's independence? Or was it for the protection of Manchu private property? The aim is so clear that an explanation is unnecessary. All our countrymen agree that more than two hundred years ago the Manchus massacred our ancestors and took our property; that they now oppress our compatriots and cede our lands to foreigners, so that one day we may vanish

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[156] Hsueh, Huang Hsing, p. 8.

from the earth; that they are our age-old enemies, and that we should not tolerate them, least of all protect their property.

Why, then, do we resist the Russians? If Russia occupies Manchuria, the other Powers will definitely oppose her, and the result will be war. Regardless of who wins this war, our territories will ultimately be taken away from us. We are not worried about the loss of Manchuria alone, but about the loss of the rest of the nation that will follow it. We are not worried about Russia alone, but about the other Powers who may follow in her footsteps to partition China. Alas! Conquered by the barbarian Manchus alone, our nation can still hope for independence some day; but conquered by the civilized Powers, China will be lost forever. Even if our hopes for the future are doomed to fail, it is better to struggle to the death than to do nothing. This is why we propose to establish the Association for Universal Military Education. . . .

Why, then, did we try to influence the policy of the Manchu government by sending representatives to China? The reason was that in order to send the Student Army to the front, the authorization of the government was necessary. But once our Army was in the North, we could do whatever we deemed fit to serve our real purpose. . . . It was so understood by every one of us . . . and it was for such expediency that we did not explicitly state our nationalistic aims [when the Student Army was organized].

However, the consequence of not having our aim explicitly stated could be disastrous. After the establishment of the Association for Universal Military Education, the response in China will be great; the activities of the proposed association will be watched by the people. Many may follow our example and take similar actions. But if our means to an end is misunderstood as an end in itself, our people will work for the alien regime, to the great harm of China's future. In order to carry out our great task, a proper name must be given to the association so that it will appeal to the people outside it and help our comrades within it to concentrate their efforts for the cause. . . .

Consequently, we propose to have a meeting today, and propose that the principles of the association will be the cultivation of military spirit and the practice of nationalism. . . . The injustice done to our ancestors will be revenged. Civilized Powers that are our enemies will be resisted. If we succeed, we shall become citizens of an independent nation. If we fail, we will be dead heroes in the cause of freedom.[157]

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[157] Ibid., pp. 10-11.

By 1903 the Ch'ing government was becoming so alarmed by the activities of its students that it passed regulations which required government approval of admissions and extracurricular activities of students and forbid them to interfere in politics.[158] It also implemented an examination system for "returned students" to ensure their competence to assume government positions. In November, 1905, the Chinese government went further by persuading the Japanese Ministry of Education to place new controls over the ever-increasing number of Chinese students in Japan. Therefore, all Chinese students attending school in Japan had to have a letter from the Chinese Minister, and students could only attend certain approved schools and live in quarters selected by the Japanese authorities.[159] The Chinese students were indignant and thousands went on strike refusing to attend classes. Ch'en Tien-hua

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[158] Wang, Chinese Intellectuals, p. 60.

[159] In 1906 the Chinese government went further in curbing the number of students going to Japan. There was a one-third decrease as students now had to complete Chinese middle school first and acquire a knowledge of the Japanese language before going to Japan. Moreover, the development of modern schools in China influenced many students to complete their education in their own country. Hackett, "Chinese Students in Japan", p. 154. Examples of government fears were widely reported in contemporary newspapers. "The tide seems to have turned against sending young men to study in Japan. The Chinese government had become alarmed by the fact that many of those who have spent a short time in Tokyo have come back to China and disseminated the most revolutionary political doctrines." Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal, XXXIX: 1 (January, 1908), p. 13. "The Ministry of Education has instructed the authorities of the coast provinces to keep track of the movements of all students who return to China, presumably for fear of revolutionary designs." North China Herald, XC: 2165 (February 6, 1909), p. 349.

(1865-1905), an important member of the T'ung-meng hui, committed suicide.[160] Hundreds of students threatened to return to China and approximately 1,000 did return in early 1906 in protest. Many of these radical students became active in revolutionary work in China and an attempt was made to unite all Chinese students studying in Shanghai through the "Alliance of Students in Shanghai from All Provinces". Although the Alliance did not last long it showed the aims of the students and their interest in unifying themselves. It was this desire for an all-embracing revolutionary organization which led some of the students to cooperate with Sun Yat-sen in the formation of the T'ung-meng hui.

FOUNDING OF THE T'UNG-MENG HUI

When Sun returned to Japan in 1905, he found that the Chinese students showed a new interest in him and in his revolutionary program. As Wang Ching-wei later recalled, anti-Manchu sentiment was strong among the students but beyond emotional outbursts few seemed to have concrete ideas about how the Manchus could be overthrown and reforms carried out.[161]

However, Sun still had to prove his qualifications for leading the revolutionary movement. In his first major appearance in Tokyo, Sun captured the mood of the students with his optimism, his appeal to

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[160] For a detailed study of Ch'en, see Ernest P. Young, "Problems of a Late Ch'ing Revolutionary: Ch'en T'ien-hua", Hsueh Chun-tu, ed., Revolutionary Leaders of Modern China (London: Oxford University Press, 1971).

[161] Lee, Foundations of Chinese Revolution, pp. 38-39.

nationalistic feelings, and his repudiation of half-way moderate solutions. The students wanted a quick restoration of Chinese greatness and Sun supplied it with his theory of "artificial progress" which postulated that "China, with her unique heritage and latent power, could take a unique path, and progress so fast that soon the rest of the globe would sit at her feet. He promised that the world would once more have to learn from the Chinese model."[162] Moreover, Sun accepted the students as the future leaders of China--they were his "men of determination".

He pursued his favorite theme that to save the nation and make it strong, the Chinese must be willing to learn the best from the West. It was not shameful to learn from others; and with China's great land mass and large population, she was destined to become a powerful country if only the people exerted themselves by learning the most advanced political system and scientific technology from the West. A constitutional monarchy was only the second best system and there was no reason why China should not have the best--a republican form.[163]

These ideas had a strong appeal to the young student population but Sun and the student leaders differed over the ways to institute these policies. The nationalism of these young intellectuals had its root in anti-foreignism and they did not share Sun's trust in foreign powers, especially in the Japanese. Sun was viewing China's revolution as part

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[162] Schiffrin, Sun Yat-sen, p. 361.

[163] Lee, Foundations of Chinese Revolution, p. 33.

of a general world progression; whereas the students feared foreign intervention in China's affairs. However, the students were somewhat reassured by Sun's optimism that the foreign powers would not interfere with a Chinese revolution which did not directly threaten their treaty status. The students had already begun to redirect their resentment away from the foreigners towards their own Manchu government and Sun fanned this anti-Manchu feeling. Sun's knowledge of foreign attitudes impressed student leaders who came to accept him as someone who could deal with the foreign powers.

There was a more serious clash between Sun and student leaders over strategy. This had already occurred in Europe when Sun met with students in London, Brussels, Berlin, and Paris. The question hinged on student emphasis on their own primary role in the revolution and their reliance on the infiltration of the New Army units to provide the manpower; in contrast, Sun continued his emphasis on using secret societies as revolutionary forces. Although Sun formally accepted the student position, the reliance on secret societies did continue in fact until almost the outbreak of the Revolution.

Sun's own personality was perhaps his greatest asset in securing the leadership of the revolutionary student movement. Although he was not a great theoretician, Sun was able to improvise tactics to deal with a rapidly changing situation which seemed to call for emergency, short-term measures. Moreover, he had revolutionary experience far exceeding that of most of the students and many respected his audacity to act.

Throughout his meetings with student leaders, Sun showed his ability to adjust to new situations and rally support for his cause.

Finally in August, 1905, the T'ung-meng hui (Revolutionary Alliance) was formed from a merger of the Hsing-chung hui of Kwangtung, the Hua-hsing hui of Hunan, the Kuang-fu hui of Chekiang, and various other small revolutionary groups. In many ways the T'ung-meng hui was superior to any of the earlier organizations. It was somewhat better organized, had a stronger leadership, commanded a greater source of revenue from the overseas Chinese populations, and offered a more concrete program for revolution. Therefore, the T'ung-meng hui provided the badly needed leadership for a large number of the disorganized radical students. Although it later suffered from military defeats and internecine power struggles, the formation of the T'ung-meng hui was of great importance in broadening the revolutionary movement from a few isolated individuals to a more coordinated movement which began to more seriously threaten the stability of the Manchu regime. For Sun it was a personal triumph, as for the first time in his life, he commanded the manpower and talent for an organized, national political effort. However, the T'ung-meng hui remained a predominantly student-intellectual group dependent on student leaders like Huang Hsing and Sung Chiao-jen rather than on Sun's own followers from the Hsing-chung hui. Continuing student support would depend on Sun's ability to provide effective leadership and a guiding ideology.

However, after assuring his followers that the political and social revolutions could be carried out simultaneously, Sun returned to the practical problems of raising funds and recruiting new members. He left his student colleagues in Japan to wage a propaganda battle with their

rivals, led by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. The new organ for the T'ung-meng hui was the Min-pao (Citizen's Journal), first appearing on November 26, 1905. The editors stated that their goal was republicanism and that a revolution to overthrow the Manchu government was the first step in achieving that goal. Countering Liang's contention that China was not ready for republican government, the revolutionists insisted that a constitutional monarchy would only lead to abuse of power and moreover, was impossible under the Manchus in view of their racial discrimination against the Chinese. They were continuing to carry out discriminatory policies which relegated the Chinese people to an inferior position in their own country and which deliberately excluded them from the highest echelons of government while the Manchus enjoyed unwarranted privileges. Min pao attacks on the Manchus became more virulent in response to the Ch'ing government's talk of a constitution and the opening of provincial assemblies. These moves worried the revolutionists as they appeared to be implementing some of the policies advocated by the radicals, and the Min pao writers devoted much time and space to attacking these reforms as a gigantic hoax being perpetrated against the Chinese people.[164]

The revolutionary writers for the Min pao had never made any attempt to hide their anti-Manchu feelings and this racial theme was to become characteristic of revolutionary writings after 1905. The Manchus were characterized as "alien barbarians" and tales of Manchu atrocities were widely publicized. Many writers went beyond Sun's political

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[164]Gasster, Chinese Intellectuals, p. 87.

objectives of removing the Manchus from power to virulent racist attacks. The students continued to condemn the Manchus for appeasing the West, controlling high government posts, and blocking the development of China. Anti-Manchuism was tied in with Chinese nationalism when Sun insisted that the Chinese should run their own country and not allow an "alien" and minority regime to squander it to the Western powers. Based on social Darwinist ideas, a common racial heritage became a most important ingredient in a nation-state. Whereas Liang could write of nationalism,

> Since the sixteenth century, about 400 years ago, the reason for European development and world progress has been the stimulation and growth of extensive nationalist feeling everywhere. What does nationalism mean? It is that in all places, people of the same race, the same language, the same religion, and the same customs regard each other as brothers and work for independence and self-government and organize a more perfect government to work for the public welfare and to oppose the infringement of other races.[165]

and include the Manchus, Wang Ching-wei insisted that the Manchus and Chinese were distinct. Although Liang continued to write that the Chinese should concentrate on changing China not the Manchu government as the ills were Chinese ills and the expulsion of the Manchus would not necessarily mean the expulsion of bad government, he had lost his hold over the young students. As Hu Han-min commented, anti-Manchuism was a fundamental success, as large numbers of Chinese students deserted Liang for the T'ung-menghui and its narrow nationalism directed against the Manchus.

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[165] Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "The Renovation of the People", Teng & Fairbank, China's Response to the West, p. 221.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES IN CHINA

Between 1902 and 1907 student radicalism made its greatest contribution to the revolutionary movement. The lower Yangtze provinces now became the centre for student activities with Shanghai as a focal point. Shanghai had already become an intellectual centre with a growing number of reformist and revolutionary newspapers and journals being published there. It was also the point of entry and departure for students studying abroad and as an area outside Chinese jurisdiction attracted a large number of radical intellectuals. At first there had been little distinction between reform and revolution among the educated populace of Shanghai; however, growing nationalism in response to the Manchurian situation had tended to radicalize opposition to the Ch'ing government, just as it had in Japan. Thus in the spring of 1902, Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, Chang Ping-lin, and other radical scholars had organized the Chinese Educational Association to publish original modern texts to meet the demands of modern Chinese schools. However, its educational activities were soon overshadowed as it became a gathering spot for revolutionaries in the lower Yangtze provinces. In the following August, Wu Chih-hui denounced the Manchus at a meeting called by the Educational Association in support of the Tokyo demonstrators. At the same time the Nan-yang students had gone out on strike to protest the prohibiting of discussions on current politics and the reading of modern books. As the government was setting up stricter controls over its overseas students, some of the returned students suggested that they establish their own independent

school in Shanghai. These dissatisfied elements then proceeded to open the Patriotic School with Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei as principal and Chang Ping-lin as instructor of Chinese literature. Most of the teachers took other jobs and then volunteered their services. With funds solicited from wealthy Shanghai merchant families, the Association also opened the Patriotic Girls School.

In 1903 these Shanghai nationalists protested the proposal to use French troops in Kwangsi and Russia's continuing presence in Manchuria. Like their counterparts in Tokyo, they organized a volunteer army corps. In order to publicize their cause, they used the Su pao (Kiangsu Journal), a daily of reformist leanings. By May 1903, the paper was publishing decidedly revolutionary writings by Chang and others. It was these writings by Chang Ping-lin, which began on May 27 to openly insult the emperor and proceeded to advocated revolution, which led the Chinese authorities to attempt to stop its publication. The climax was reached when Chang wrote articles in praise of Tsou Jung's inflammatory pamphlet The Revolutionary Army.[166] The pamphlet was full of anti-Manchu racism and virulent attacks on the government. It openly called for the

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[166] Tsou, from a wealthy Szechuanese merchant family, had been inspired by the 1898 reform movement and T'an Ssu-tung's writings to seek modern learning. After learning Japanese in Chungking, along with science and history, he had gone to Tokyo in 1902. He soon became involved in student agitation and after reading numerous Western works on revolution, Tsou had written The Revolutionary Army. However, before it could be finished, he had been forced to leave Japan because of his actions during the "Resist Russia" campaign. For details of his life and the complete text of his pamphlet, see Hsueh Chun-tu and Geraldine R. Schiff, "The Life and Writings of Tsou Jung", Hsueh, Revolutionary Leaders, pp. 153-209.

overthrowal of the "barbarous Peking" government, the expulsion of all Manchus, and the killing of the emperor to end the monarchical system.

On June 21, the Chinese authorities requested the arrest of several of the agitators, including Ts'ai, Chang, and Tsou. Because the paper was published in the International Settlement, the Chinese government had to rely on the International Police force and then have the case tried before the Mixed Court. Most of the agitators had already left Shanghai and only Chang and Tsou were apprehended. The Su-pao and the Patriotic School were shut down. The Chinese government then began a six-month struggle to have the prisoners extradited, claiming that treaty regulations gave them jurisdiction over their own criminals. However, the Municipal Council of Shanghai had been attempting to extend their authority in the settlement and refused to hand over the prisoners. Finally the charge of seditious libel was brought before the Mixed Court, and Chang and Tsou, no longer flaunting their revolutionary sympathies, were both given light sentences of three and two years respectively.[167] During the trial, the Chinese government appeared both unreasonably vindictive and ridiculously ineffectual; thus losing prestige internationally and further alienating a widespread section of Chinese public opinion by its indiscriminate attacks on other Chinese students. The Su pao case had been but part of a widespread government attempt to suppress

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[167] Tsou would become a martyr to the cause when he died in prison in April 1905, only a few weeks before his scheduled release. However, he had already become the most famous anti-Manchu writer of his time.

student movements, but its excesses only turned more moderate elements against it. Within the student movement itself, the Su pao case brought a final division between reformers and revolutionaries as the radicals turned from propaganda to assassination and revolt.

Other radical papers soon replaced the Su pao. Ts'ai himself contributed to the founding of the Alarm Bell and Liang's Hsin-min ts'ung pao and later the T'ung-meng hui's Min pao found an enthusiastic audience despite their prohibition. Early in 1906 a group of Chinese students returning from Japan in protest against the Japanese government restrictions discussed above, had started the China National Institute which was distinctly sympathetic to the revolutionary movement.

Student strikes or the withdrawal of whole student bodies from their schools had already become an important political weapon wielded by the more militant students. The Nan-yang College strike was the prototype for many other student groups who used this threat to better their school conditions or demonstrate their discontent with government policy. In addition many of the modern schools were deluged with revolutionary material from Japan which added to their unrest and often stirred them to action.

Student activists gave their enthusiastic support to the 1905 boycott of American goods. The boycott was started in July by merchants in Shanghai but they were quickly joined by merchants in other treaty ports, most noticeably those in Canton. A reaction to American immigration regulations and procedures, the boycott also encompassed an emotional complaint against the indignities suffered by Chinese residents in the

United States. It achieved its greatest effectiveness in the coastal ports of South China but also spread along the Yangtze as far as Chungking and into the interior cities of Kwangtung and Kwangsi before it began to subside in September as merchant support weakened.[168]

The economic importance of the boycott was overshadowed by its political significance. The boycott, which was to become such an effective weapon in Republican China, was seen as a way for the public to influence government decision-making. It could be used to support the government's efforts to resist foreign demands or in the case where the government succumbed to these demands, the Chinese people used it as a protest against foreign policy in the hope of having it reviewed. Moreover, the boycotters emphasized the educational significance of the movement in arousing the masses to an awareness of their nation's plight. Lacking a general organization, the boycott was still able to arouse many hitherto untouched elements of society, most noticeable being the large number of women involved in boycott agitation.[169] Once again the power of the new press was evident. Although not directly an attack on the Ch'ing government, which at first made no effort to suppress it, the boycott again underlined the need for the government to institute full scale reforms in order to retain the loyalty of its people.

Many of the radicals had already given up hope in their government

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[168] For details of the boycott, see Margaret Field, "The Chinese Boycott of 1905", Papers on China, XI (1957), pp. 63-98.

[169] Ibid., p. 80.

and were actively working for its overthrow. One such group was the Kuang-fu hui (Restoration Society), which had been organized in Shanghai in 1904 by students who had returned from Japan in protest against the disbanding of the students' volunteer army to resist Russia. The more radical students had already gone underground to form a new association, the Militant People's Educational Association, in Tokyo. At its inception on May 11, 1903, the Educational Association members had taken an oath pledging themselves to agitate, rebel, and assassinate when they returned to their home provinces.[170] However, this secret assassination corps was broadened in Shanghai to include other elements and many of its members became influential in the Kuang-fu hui, which also proposed assassination and rebellion as weapons to use against the government.

Although the Kuang-fu hui was founded in Shanghai under the nominal leadership of Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, its activities were centred in the lower Yangtze provinces of Anhwei and Chekiang and practical leadership was assumed by T'ao Ch'eng-chang and Hsu Hsi-lin (1873-1907) and later by Ch'iu Chin. T'ao was important because of his contacts with secret societies in Chekiang, and the Kuang-fu hui was able to build up a considerable following in the secret societies and New Army units stationed in Hangchow. However, the majority of the members were young intellectuals from Chekiang, Anhwei, and Kiangsu who had studied in Japan.

With the leaders attempting to appeal to such diverse groups, the Kuang-fu hui suffered from poor planning, a lack of coordination in

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[170] Schiffrin, Sun Yat-sen, p. 263.

leadership, and conflicting ideologies. Individual leaders were largely on their own in carrying out their anti-Manchu activities, and the slogans they adopted were often in conflict leaving the impression that the organization did not have a coherent body of political ideas guiding its followers. Whereas Hsu called for "genuine republicanism" and T'ao talked of "restoring the Ming dynasty", Ch'iu called on her followers to "avenge the wrongs of the past 200-odd years" and "to build an empire of our own". The goals of the Kuang-fu hui remained in doubt.[171]

This confusion was heightened by the Kuang-fu hui's relations with the T'ung-meng hui. Although the Kuang-fu hui had been formed a year earlier, most of its important leaders[172] joined the T'ung-meng hui after its formation. However, the Kuang-fu hui continued to exist in its own right and many local revolutionaries were unaware of a connection with the T'ung-meng hui. The 1907 rebellions, discussed below, were organized by the Kuang-fu hui leaders alone and their relations with the T'ung-meng hui remain controversial.

The T'ung-meng hui members were also busy preparing military assaults on the Manchu government. Sun's first attempt at revolution dated back to 1895 and showed the same weaknesses that were to characterize most of the remaining "ten unsuccessful revolutionary attempts". The Canton plot depleted Sun's treasury and largely destroyed the Hong Kong

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[171] Lee, Foundations of Chinese Revolution, p. 167.

[172] The exception being Hsu Hsi-lin who refused to join the T'ung-meng hui.

branch of the Hsing-chung hui. The failure was primarily due to a dearth of organization and propaganda. Again and again Sun would rely on secret societies to provide the manpower for his revolts and yet these groups proved to be notoriously hard to control or coordinate. But, Sun was not attuned to the idea of propagandizing the masses in order to arouse popular support for his revolts. Instead he attempted to channel the widespread economic unrest through the secret societies for a direct attack on the government.[173] However, the people remained largely passive, or even when they did join in revolts, Sun was unable to effectively organize his forces and the government experienced relatively little difficulty in suppressing his rebellions.

Sun was not a military man and what appealed to him was "The propaganda of the deed". His revolts were political in nature meant to create "an atmosphere of general expectancy" among the masses and to diffuse fear and uncertainty within the government. The cumulative effect of these deeds was to bring about a complete breakdown of authority.[174] In this Sun was successful as he undermined the confidence of the

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[173]Descriptions of revolts in the contemporary newspapers confirmed their peasant origins. For example, the rebellion in Kwangtung in 1907, was described as a desperate attempt to get food. Led by the Triads, it was over 30,000 strong and against all government officials because of the grain shortage and their corruption. South China Morning Post, VII: 126 (Tuesday, May 28, 1907), p. 7. Later the revolt is connected with Sun and students in Japan and described as becoming an anti-dynastic movement. What started over exorbitant rice prices and hoarding by wealthy merchants has taken on a new character. South China Morning Post, VII: 128 (Thursday, May 30, 1907), p. 8.

[174]Schiffrin, Sun Yat-sen, p. 97.

government and accustomed the people to the idea of revolt against the Manchus, thus, undoubtedly accelerating their overthrow.

The T'ung-meng hui was seriously weakened by its successive revolutionary attempts and the executions of loyal young student members. However, the T'ung-meng hui losses were somewhat compensated by the repercussions their attacks had on the Manchu court. The Ch'ing leaders were shocked by the size and audacity of the revolutionary forces, and foreign observers became more aware of a strong revolutionary sentiment in China. Progressive Chinese elements began to write and talk of a revolutionary tide sweeping the nation and an atmosphere was created which allowed the Wuchang uprising to set off the successful 1911 Revolution. This revolution was not the result of coordinated planning by the T'ung-meng hui or concerted action by student revolutionaries but seemed to represent an almost spontaneous turning away from the Peking government. In this sense Sun's political strategy was successful as it had weakened public faith and confidence in the Ch'ing dynasty and had eroded its authority. But Sun's failure to build a firm base of support and his willingness to compromise in order to forestall foreign intervention saw the Revolution fail in all but its purpose to overthrow the dynasty.

CHAPTER V

CHINA'S WOMEN REVOLUTIONARIES

The growing revolutionary tide was to sweep some of China's young women into its mainstream. These young women were usually students in China's modern schools or in Japan, and thus, had already shown a dissatisfaction with the traditional women's pattern and an interest in a new personal development. To their personal desires for education, careers, and a role outside their families, these young girls added a deepening interest in their nation and its survival and development into a modern state. Nationalism brought an emotional commitment from these young women to put themselves and their personal goals in a secondary position behind their nation's needs. China must be saved first; then they could turn their attention to feminist needs for a better education, better employment opportunities and social emancipation.

China's young women were to play various roles in the revolutionary movement. Propagandizing through newspaper articles and impassioned speeches could arouse others to the precarious situation of the nation, and there was always a need for couriers to carry messages and weapons between revolutionary cells. Direct military action appealed to others and they turned to plotting assassination and rebellion. For the less adventurous or daring, teaching provided a channel for the spread of revolutionary doctrine and an opening to reach the still unmoved and uninvolved. These young women teachers had an influence beyond the recruitment of revolutionary followers as they provided encouragement to

other young girls to leave their homes, acquire an education, and select a new role for themselves in the new China which they all hoped to build. Purely feminist and broadly nationalistic aims were to motivate this pioneering group, albeit a small one, to work towards a new Ghinese woman within a new Chinese nation. Not all showed the same commitment or daring, but all had an important role to play in this transitional period. Several of these women, such as Ch'iu Chin, Ho Hsiang-ning, and Soumay Tcheng, were to exert an influence far beyond their immediate revolutionary role.

The Kuang-fu hui had been active in the smaller cities, towns and villages of Chekiang since its inception in late 1904. Building on the traditional anti-Manchuism of the secret societies and the current economic unrest in the countryside, the Kuang-fu hui leadership had united these groups with local students and scholars interested in modern ideas and the rapid transformation of China. As a province noted for its scholarship, Chekiang had begun to promote modern education even before the Ch'ing government called for reforms in 1901 and many young students had studied in the Ch'iu-shih Academy in Hangchow or the Military Preparatory School and then gone to Japan for further study. Upon their return in large numbers in 1903 and 1904, many of these students had been involved in the widespread student strikes which had led to the formation of the Patriotic School in Shanghai. In the spring of 1903, virtually all the students at Chekiang College had withdrawn and founded their own New People's School (soon renamed Chekiang Public Institute and modelled on the Patriotic School). This indigenous intellectual turmoil could thus

be channeled into the revolutionary movement by the Kuang-fu hui leaders.

During 1904 and 1905, the revolutionaries had established contacts with secret societies and founded schools[175] and other organizations as fronts for their revolutionary activities. T'ao Cheng-chang had been especially active at this time in recruiting secret society members and trying to organize the societies which were so badly fragmented. Also, the radical students, as they developed their own bases to spread propaganda, coordinate the secret societies, and provide rudimentary training for a future revolutionary army, had found it necessary to establish viable schools and guilds to cover their subversive activities. The Wen-T'ai-Ch'u Guildhall[176] established in 1904 and the Ta-t'ung school opened in 1905 were the most important. With the Manchu government encouraging the local establishment of schools, Hsu Hsi-lin had been able formally to open Ta-t'ung school on September 23, 1905, with official sanction to offer military courses in the school. Into these classes, Hsu enrolled many secret society members and others joined the Kuang-fu hui.

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[175] Many of these schools were financed by local gentry and merchants who were not involved in the revolutionary movement but were interested in reform and modern education. Thus, the student revolutionaries came in contact with progressive local elites with a common background and a common interest in the promotion of modernizing projects. Information on these activities of the Kuang-fu hui from Rankin, Early Chinese Revolutionaries.

[176] Officially the Guildhall was established to collect taxes for the government, but actually it used its position to strengthen contacts with the secret societies and to recruit among the villages. However, by 1905, with the lack of funds and with government suspicion increasing, the Guildhall ceased to be effective and was replaced by the Ta-t'ung school as the revolutionary centre for Chekiang.

However, the organization remained weak with the secret societies scattered, poorly armed, and weakly indoctrinated and the revolutionary leaders finding themselves in an exposed position once they left Shanghai. By 1906, the Kuang-fu hui had almost ceased to exist as T'ao and Hsu broke over tactics and the Ta-t'ung school was left without effective leadership. Only the enthusiasm for a coordinated uprising with the T'ung-meng hui and the arrival of Ch'iu Chin in February 1907, to head the Ta-t'ung school and lead the rising in Chekiang saved the society from sinking into oblivion.

THE HEROINE OF CHIEN LAKE

> The sun is setting with no road ahead,
> In vain I weep for loss of country . . .
> .....
> Although I die yet I still live,
> Through sacrifice I have fulfilled my duty. . . .[177]

On July 15, 1907, a young woman revolutionary was executed in Shaohsing, Chekiang. Although she was accused of plotting rebellion, her uprising never occurred as government troops captured her and a few compatriots after a short resistance. However, despite the dismal failure of her planned rising, her death not only brought her personal glory[178] but did much to advance the revolutionary cause.

Ch'iu Chin was not typical of China's young revolutionaries. For

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[177] This poem was supposedly written by Ch'iu Chin five days before her execution. Quoted in Rankin, Early Chinese Revolutionaries, p. 1.

[178] She is one of the revolutionary heroines honored today by both the Communist and Nationalist governments.

one thing she was a woman and this fact alone tended to set her apart from most other members of the T'ung-meng hui or Kuang-fu hui and add a personal and feminine aspect to her political struggle. She not only wanted a new vigorous China ruled by the Chinese people, but a nation in which women would share in all aspects of political, social, and economic life. Ch'iu Chin combined a militant feminism with her revolutionary ardor and in this way she was somewhat typical of China's early women revolutionaries. But she was older than most of the students and far too much of an individual to be considered representative of anyone but herself. However, she did share many of the ideals of these revolutionary women and was a source of inspiration to the generations who followed her. To the average Chinese woman of her time she could only be incomprehensible and a somewhat frightening spectacle if they heard of her at all.

Ch'iu Chin was born in 1875 or 1877[179] into a scholarly Chekiangese family whose ancestral home was in Shanyin, near Shaohsing. However, Ch'iu was born in Amoy where her grandfather was a prefect, and it was in Amoy that she spent her early years. Her father was a scholar holding a low government position and her mother was also educated. Ch'iu's parents were very indulgent to their daughter who, along with her elder brother,

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[179] There is little agreement between the various sources on Ch'iu Chin's life, beginning with her date and place of birth and continuing through to her death and burial. Wherever possible the sources have been checked against each other for authenticity, but where the conflict could not be resolved, I have generally relied on Rankin, Early Chinese Revolutionaries. Therefore, unless otherwise stated, the details of Ch'iu's life are taken from Rankin.

was tutored in the classics, history, and poetry.[180] Moreover, she was allowed to read novels, and to learn to ride and to use a sword as well as to drink huge quantities of wine.[181] Certainly an unusual upbringing for a Chinese daughter of her generation!

It was, moreover, a rather poor preparation for her marriage into a wealthy and conservative Hunanese merchant family in 1896. Her husband, Wang T'ing-chun was a thoroughly conservative minor official who finally purchased an official post in Peking as Circuit Commissioner. There seems to have been little affection between Wang and Ch'iu,[182] although she bore him a son and a daughter, and there was certainly little intellectual or social empathy between them. Ch'iu turned to her poetry to console herself until they moved to Peking where she had greater freedom to pursue her own interests.

Peking was a stimulating and politically vibrant city in the years following the Sino-Japanese war and Ch'iu was not immune to the calls of the 1898 reformers. She came in contact with several talented women, like

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[180] Ch'iu seemed to acquire a thorough classical education as her poetry was full of classical allusions and written in an elegant style. Also, she maintained a deeper appreciation of Chinese history and culture than some of her younger colleagues.

[181] Ch'iu often pictured herself as a "knight-errant", Rankin, Early Chinese Revolutionaries, p. 40.

[182] Ayscough, Chinese Women, prefers to believe that there was some natural affection in the first years of marriage, but Helen Foster Snow, Women in Modern China (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1967), states that it was an arranged marriage to which Ch'iu objected on principle.

the calligrapher Wu Chih-ying, and might have followed these traditionally accepted lines of womanly pleasures if political events had not intervened. She became intensely interested in public affairs but found little sympathy from a husband who belonged to the conservative party in the capital. As an eyewitness to the Boxer rebellion and the consequent occupation and looting of Peking by foreign troops, Ch'iu rebelled against the corruption of official life in Peking and the intervention of Western powers in China's domestic affairs.[183] Her life seemed more confining and meaningless in relation to these traumatic events and her husband appeared more reactionary so that Ch'iu finally decided in 1903 to leave her family for study in Japan.[184] To her interest in the promotion of women's rights, Ch'iu now added an ardent desire to save her country.

Before leaving for Japan, Ch'iu organized a girls' school and encouraged her students to study the new books and magazines about modernization and the West. She then delivered a public lecture against the evils of footbinding.[185] Finally, her women friends in the capital gave

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[183] Snow, Women in Modern China, mentions a poem written in indignation at the whole picture of humiliation which China suffered. However, it does not appear in her book.

[184] Whether there was a divorce or just a separation by mutual agreement is uncertain, but a separation would be more likely. Her husband retained custody of their two children as custom dictated.

[185] Ayscough, Chinese Women, p. 144. No reference is made to whether Ch'iu's feet were ever bound but it seems unlikely in relation to her childhood activities and later photographs show no evidence of her ever having had bound feet.

her a farewell banquet and in April, 1904, she left for Japan.[186] As a conscious feminist, Ch'iu had demanded the abolition of all the social repressions on women and stated that, "Without educating women, we can't have a strong nation; without women's rights, our nation will remain weak."[187] Ch'iu cast herself in the role of a champion of women's rights[188] and worked for their emancipation. However, the end goal of this awakening of her fellow women was to arouse them to defend their country against the Manchus and foreign encroachment. It was emancipation of women as a group which armed with equal rights would work to strenghthen the new nation. As the men could not be moved, women would once again provide the inspiration through their personal heroism.

> Women and men are born alike,
> Why should men over us hold sway? . . .
> We'll follow Joan of Arc ----
> With our own hands our land we shall regain![189]

Arriving in Tokyo Ch'iu attended the normal school of Aoyama Vocational Girls' School and quickly acquired a good knowledge of the Japanese language. However, her interests soon shifted from education and political science courses to the radical student politics in Tokyo.

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[186] Ibid., p. 145.

[187] Snow, Women in Modern China, p. 95.

[188] She took the name Chien-hu Nu-chieh (Mirror Lake Woman Champion) after a lake near her home in Shaohsing. For an example of her thoughts on women's rights, see Appendix V: Strive for Women's Power.

[189] Snow, Women in Modern China, p. 94.

After joining the provincial associations of Chekiangese and Hunanese students, she was drawn toward more radical groups, such as the Shih-jen t'uan (Ten Men Corps) and the Kung-ai hui (Encompassing Love Society), which was a society of women progressives which had originally been established in the spring of 1903 but had virtually died out until Ch'iu revived it.[190] She was also writing for the Pai-hua pao (Vernacular Journal) published by a radical subsidiary of the Chinese Students Union. Becoming caught up in the revolutionary movement, Ch'iu bought a short sword and studied marksmanship and bomb-making. In the fall of 1904, she joined the Yokohama branch of the Triads.[191]

Ch'iu has been described as an emotional and effective speaker; and as a highly intelligent and personally courageous woman, she attracted widespread attention for her cause. Her forceful personality combining impulsive behavior with inspiration brought her to the notice of leading revolutionaries.

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[190] It was this group which was to provide the nurses for the volunteer corps to Resist Russia. Rankin, Early Chinese Revolutionaries, p. 41 and footnote No. 99, p. 254. Ayscough and Snow describe the Kung-ai hui as simply a society to overthrow the Manchus.

[191] This branch of the Triads was composed mainly of student revolutionaries rather than the traditional secret society types, but it gave her a valuable link with Triad groups in Chekiang. The Triads were traditionally anti-Manchu. Their initiation ceremony was described by Wang Shih-tse "Hui-i Ch'iu Chin", pp. 225-226, quoted by Rankin, Early Chinese Revolutionaries, pp. 254-255. New recruits demonstrated their loyalty to a white banner on which was written "overthrow the Ch'ing, restore the Ming". For more general information on the Triads, see Jean Chesneaux, Secret Societies in China, with chapters on the Triads and allusions to the role played by women in these secret societies.

Therefore, when she returned to China in 1905 apparently because of her mother's illness and her own lack of funds, she came in contact with Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei and Hsu Hsi-lin.[192] Returning to Japan in the summer of 1905 to continue her studies at the Training College for Women, Ch'iu proceeded to join the newly formed Tung-meng hui and was appointed party head for Chekiang. However, her studies were soon interrupted by the agitation against the more stringent control of Chinese students in Japan announced by the Japanese Ministry of Education in late November 1905. As mentioned above, Ch'iu was active in forming the group of more radical students who pledged themselves to return to China unless the Japanese government rescinded the regulations. Therefore, she was one of a group of approximately thirty or forty who returned to Shanghai early in 1906. This marked the end of Ch'iu's pursuit of personal education as she began to devote herself full-time to revolution.

With memberships in both the T'ung-meng hui and the Kuang-fu hui, Ch'iu found teaching at the Hsun-ch'i Girls' School in Huchow too confining. Although she was popular with many of her students, her ideas were simply too radical for the school's trustees and some of the students and she left at summer vacation. However, while she was at the Hsun-chi

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[192] Both Ayscough and Snow state that she joined the Kuang-fu hui at this time and spent the summer touring Chekiang; however, Rankin dates her membership in the Kuang-fu hui from her later return to China in early 1906. There also seems to be some discrepancy in her biographers' accounts of her membership in the T'ung-meng hui. Overlooking Ayscough's assertion, based on Ch'iu's daughter's account, that she never joined the T'ung-meng hui, the most accepted version places her as the second woman member of the T'ung-meng hui and party leader in Chekiang.

School she developed a close friendship with Hsu Tzu-hua, whom she not only interested in some of her revolutionary activities but who also became one of Ch'iu's few confidants.

Returning to Shanghai, Ch'iu experimented with explosives and helped raise funds for the Chinese Public Institute founded in Woosung in 1906 to provide education for students who had returned from Japan to protest the new education regulations. And, she began to write polemical essays attacking the Manchus for giving away the country to foreigners while impoverishing the Chinese people with exorbitant taxes collected only for the personal gain of officials. "The Manchus treated inhabitants of the land as thieves, while flattering the foreigners' manner of behavior and bestowing as gifts our greatly loved rivers, hills! . . ."[193] She expressed the commonly held student fear that China would soon disappear unless the Han people should unite to overthrow the "vile Manchus". However, while travelling around Chekiang in the fall of 1906 to help organize a rising scheduled to coincide with the one planned by the T'ung-meng hui in Hunan, Ch'iu became more aware of how isolated the revolutionaries really were from the mainstream of Chinese society. The peasants showed no political awareness of China's dilemma and few of even the educated young people shared her ideals. These feelings of isolation and personal loneliness intensified her frustration and sense of urgency to set the mood for her greatest and last revolutionary attempt.

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[193] Ayscough, Chinese Women, p. 157.

Alone in a back-room, where influence of Heaven descends,
  a woman chants sad songs;
hsiao, hsiao drops water from eaves, flooded by rain.
A comrade, arrow of whose knowledge finds target of my
  soul is difficult to meet.
Turn of an eye: light of time flows past.
Hair on temples tossed by wind, dishevelled.
Cannot express depth of passionate grief.
Count times sun has set on my impoverished road.
I -- in bitterness, alone.
Land -- miserable, pitiful;
Sad that it should bring forth a miserable pitiful woman.

Exclaim: 'will return home!' -- return home, where?
Rouse myself, turn head.
Land, of ancestors, snores in sleep as of yore;
Aliens insult, encroach, usurp.
Within our borders corruption, defeat.
To take command -- not one brave leader.
Heaven must have eyes without pupils
To endure: that our land should be thus,
To endure: the Manchu barbarian.
A split bean! A sliced melon!
Is our loved land.[194]

However, before turning to the practical and secret planning of a local rising to awaken the nation, Ch'iu made one final attempt to stir her "sisters". In January, 1907, she and Hsu Tzu-hua founded the monthly Chung kuo Nu Pao (Chinese Women's Journal) in Shanghai. It was directed mainly at women students in an attempt to encourage them to study and be active outside the home. Ch'iu hoped to subsequently establish a women's association and to publish books for women and give aid to girls planning to study in Shanghai or abroad.[195] Again she returned to the theme of

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[194]"Sung To The Air: Rivers, Hills of our Land are Thus"--a poem by Ch'iu translated by Ayscough, Chinese Women, pp. 159-160.

[195]Rankin, Early Chinese Revolutionaries, p. 225.

the dangers of ignorance which left the people unaware of the real threat to their nation. Comparing herself to a Buddha penetrating this "black darkness" to help others climb out, Ch'iu said that she must awaken women to the "black darkness" of not only their nation but of their own women's realm as well. The publication was to serve as the "thread of light . . . piercing the black darkness of our women's realm."[196]

> We want to unite our two million sisters into a solid whole, so that they can call to each other. Our journal will act as the mouthpiece for our women. It is meant to help our sisters by giving their life a deeper meaning and hope and to advance rapidly towards a bright, new society. We Chinese women should become the vanguard in rousing the people to welcome enlightenment.[197]

Ch'iu also wrote of the need for a new education based on "foreign words, phrases, essays, literature" to replace the Classics. Although modern youth had great ideals, they had poor understanding and needed better direction not to look on education as the means to government appointment or jobs as compradors and interpreters.[198] Despite Ch'iu's high ideals and the excellent literary quality of the magazine, her "sisters" did not respond enthusiastically and Ch'iu was soon short of funds. Whether the magazine would have been able to arouse the interest of women in Shanghai remains a moot question as within a month Ch'iu left for Shaohsing.

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[196] Ayscough, Chinese Women, pp. 161-165, quoting from "instructions for Cutting the Blocks Issuing a Woman's Magazine in the Central State (A. D. 1906)".

[197] Snow, Modern Women in China, p. 96, also quoting from the first issue written by Ch'iu.

[198] Ayscough, Chinese Women, pp. 161-165.

When Ch'iu Chin assumed leadership of the Ta-t'ung school in February 1907, she built on the foundations laid from 1904 to 1906 by T'ao Ch'eng-chang and Hsu Hsi-lin. Again she turned to the secret societies as the best way to organize the rural population through enlisting their leaders in the Kuang-fu hui. However, working in the interior of China put several natural limitations on her propagandizing and Ch'iu had to proceed with some caution. She began organizing a Restoration Army based on the secret societies and local militias by enrolling their leaders as students of military training offered through the Ta-t'ung school. She also established contacts in the new army units in Hangchow in the hope that these groups would stage a rising in the capital once a successful one was launched in the interior by Ch'iu and the secret society leaders.[199] However, after the May meeting at the Ta-t'ung school to plan the strategy for the uprising, weaknesses in the plot were already apparent. Hsu Hsi-lin in Anking was to coordinate his uprising with Ch'iu's in Chekiang but contact between the two seems to have failed at a crucial moment, as Rankin suggests that Hsu may not have been notified of Ch'iu's final decision to postpone her rising until July 19.[200] There had already been

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[199] Because no uprising actually took place, the army could only supply warnings and funds for escape. Rankin states that although some individuals were suspected of complicity with Ch'iu, there was no proof and no action could be taken against them. Rankin, Early Chinese Revolutionaries, p. 177. Ch'iu's contacts with the army are important particularly because of later T'ung-meng hui attempts to infiltrate this group, especially in the Yangtze area.

[200] Ibid., p. 182. However, Hsu could not have postponed his assassination attempt even if he had known of Ch'iu's change in dates. En-ming had ordered graduation ceremonies to be held on July 6 as he was leaving Anking.

several postponements from early June to late June, to July 6 and finally to July 19 as Ch'iu struggled to organize and restrain secret society leaders. The various Triad branches were virtually independent and hard to direct from outside and the severe famine in the spring of 1907, which caused high prices, starvation, and refugee problems, triggered several premature risings by her secret society allies. These "rice riots" which often led to serious clashes with government troops had brought T'ung-meng hui calls for an uprising in Ping-hsiang, Liu-yang, and Li-ling in December 1906. As the famine worsened, the riots spread and carried over into the new year.[201] Although the school had not been implicated yet, the secret societies were becoming more difficult to control and the government officials were alerted to further trouble.

Ch'iu's arrival in Shaohsing in February had provided the effective leadership needed to heal the split between local students and secret society leaders, but it had also led to further complications with the local community. As head of a physical education association which she established and teacher at both the Ta-t'ung school and Ming-tao Girls'

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[201] There were numerous articles appearing in the North China Herald at this time about these "rice riots". Rankin, Early Chinese Revolutionaries, p. 157, brings out an important point about the lack of understanding between the students and rural populations. She states that the revolutionary students generally held aloof from these peasant riots and showed little understanding of the economic discontent of the lower classes. Therefore, they were unable to make use of it. Their contacts were limited to secret societies and they were not interested in changing the social structure but only in modernization which sometimes clashed with peasant interests. "They sought to use, lead, and educate the people, but not to bridge the social gap and identify themselves closely with the attitudes and problems of the peasantry."

school,[202] Ch'iu ordered all girls to enroll in military drill practice--perhaps, a prelude to her favorite scheme to establish a national women's army. She further inflamed the feelings of the local elite about her impropriety with her horseback riding and dressing in Western male attire for military drill. "One day some conservatives incited a small riot when she rode into town dressed in man's clothes. Ch'iu was rescued by students from the school, but bad feeling remained." As Rankin so succinctly concludes, "Ch'iu's revolutionary enthusiasm and militant feminism were just the right combination to provoke hostility among the gentry and officials."[203]

Near the end of March anonymous placards appeared in Shaohsing denouncing the Ta-t'ung school as a "den of rebels".[204] Then the school was searched in April or May for weapons but nothing was found thanks to fortuitous warnings. Local hostility culminated in June when a personal enemy of Ch'iu's stated that she was planning an uprising, but although time was obviously running out, the authorities took no action against the school. Then, in the aftermath of the failure of Hsu's uprising,

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[202] According to her daughter's account, Ch'iu was principal of Ta-t'ung school, but Rankin, checking other sources, concludes that she did not formally head the school but only taught there while serving as principal of Ming-tao. Ibid., pp. 285-286.

[203] Ibid., p. 172. Many other references to Ch'iu's dressing and boxing and fencing in Ayscough, Chinese Women, p. 167.

[204] Rankin suggests that the term probably referred to the schools' mores rather than to its revolutionary activities. Rankin, Early Chinese Revolutionaries, pp. 172-173.

Ch'iu was definitely implicated.

After failing to gain admittance to military schools in Japan because of his nearsightedness, Hsu had returned to China to gain an official position from which to continue his revolutionary activities. After failing several times, he was finally given a minor post as a low ranking aide to the assistant director of the Military Primary school in Anking at the end of 1906.[205] Beginning in 1907 Governor En-ming of Anhwei gave his special attention to developing a police force based on Japanese methods and Hsu won his confidence to become his assistant in charge of the police academy. Unlike Ch'iu, Hsu had actually done little in Anking to build himself a reliable revolutionary base. He had made preliminary contacts with the secret societies but did not let them in on his plans; and while apparently relying on a small group of students from the police academy, he never spelled out his revolutionary aims to them and actually caught most of them by surprise with his assassination of En-ming. He seems to have informed no one of his plot and made no concrete plans for the future beyond seizing the armory and other buildings in Anking and then marching on Nanking--a rather wild scheme with his few followers. He seemed completely caught up in the idea of a dramatic individual act to publicize the revolutionary cause. This would in turn arouse a spontaneous response from the people. The result was a rather "comic tragedy".

Having invited En-ming and other officials to graduation exercises

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[205] Ibid., pp. 170-171.

at the police academy, Hsu planned to assassinate the governor and others who resisted and then seize important public buildings in Anking. However, the plan immediately misfired when Hsu failed to kill En-ming outright and in the ensuing confusion, several officials escaped to sound the alarm. Although Hsu and a few followers succeeded in seizing the armory, they were soon surrounded and captured. During his interrogation, Hsu stated that he acted alone in response to his revolutionary aims and absolving his students, denied any connection with other revolutionaries. Denying membership in Sun's party, Hsu declared that Sun was "not fit to order me to commit the assassination."[206] He was executed the next day. It was Hsu's brother, Hsu Wei, who during questioning, connected Ch'iu and the Ta-t'ung school with his brother.[207]

Ch'iu was still working on plans for her uprising on July 9 when she read of Hsu's execution in the Shanghai papers. Despite the obvious failure of their plot, Ch'iu decided to proceed with her uprising as planned, and even the warnings from the Military Primary school in Hangchow on the despatch of government troops could not swerve Ch'iu from her purpose. When the troops actually arrived on July 12, there was still time to escape; but although there was no hope of surviving an attack on the school with the little ammunition and few students remaining, Ch'iu refused to flee. There followed brief fighting in which two students were

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[206] See Appendix VI: Hsu's Confession.

[207] Rankin, Early Chinese Revolutionaries, p. 184.

killed and Ch'iu and seventeen others were captured.[208] Ch'iu's diary and many of her revolutionary writings were found,[209] but she confessed nothing, even under torture. However, she was implicated by others. Panic and fears of a major uprising led the local officials to order Ch'iu's immediate execution. She was beheaded on July 15 and thus began a series of repercussions which reached as far as Peking and further discredited the Manchu regime.

There can be no doubt of Ch'iu Chin's guilt in plotting rebellion against the government and yet the government seemed unable to present its side of the case so that many people continued to believe and write of her innocence. The press was generally sympathetic to Ch'iu and criticized the hasty execution and torture. However, the first account in the North China Herald was matter-of-fact and cited the finding of revolutionary material in Ch'iu's possession as being the cause of her execution.

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[208] Although Ayscough, Chinese Women, p. 170, presents Ch'iu as being arrested as she "sat quietly in her room", this would not seem to fit Ch'iu's character as well as Rankin's description of her resisting arrest. Rankin, Early Chinese Revolutionaries, p. 185. A contemporary newspaper account described her capture thus,

> "As the school was not in session most of the pupils were away at their homes and the number of them arrested was not large. But amongst them was a woman named Ky'ieo, dressed in man's attire, who was a teacher at one of the Girls' Schools, and is also said to have actually managed the Ta-t'ung School on Hsu's behalf. She is said to have made a vigorous resistance, and to have stabbed one of the soldiers in the shoulder, before she was overpowered and bound. . . ." North China Herald: 2086 (August 2, 1907), p. 250.

[209] Ayscough refers to Ch'iu's two poems "Autumn Wind" and "Song of Precious Knife", reproduced in Appendices VII and VIII, as the evidence used against her. Ayscough, Chinese Women, p. 170. But, there were other writings, such as her instructions for the Restoration Army, which were much more damaging.

> Apropos of the summary execution of a lady teacher of the Ming-tao Girls' School in the same city, it now appears that the school was also established by Hsu Hsi-lin. Considerable quantities of revolutionary literature and correspondence between Hsu and the lady teacher were discovered in her possession, which, therefore, led to her execution.[210]

However, in later articles dealing with Hsu's assassination of En-ming, which was roundly condemned, the treatment of his family and other innocent associates led the papers to represent Ch'iu's execution in a different light and emphasize the barbarity of the government.

> While there is no excuse for such a treacherous crime as the murder of En Min [En-ming], there can be equally no excuse for a government which knows better to perpetuate methods of vengeance worthy only of a race of savages.

The author went on to state that the governor of Chekiang had ordered the arrest of Hsu Hsi-lin's family in Shaohsing, the females to be sold into slavery, males over sixteen to be decapitated and those under sixteen to be made into eunuchs to serve in the Palace. Ancestral graves were to be despoiled![211] Although this was a rather sensationalistic account of the punishments which could be meted out to the family, it was one which could be counted on to horrify Western readers. Although the punishments were not nearly so barbarous nor severe, the measures taken against Hsu's family did raise a cry of indignation from the residents of Shaohsing and cause some panic among friends, family, and associates of both Hsu and Ch'iu, many of whom went into hiding. When the Peking

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[210] North China Herald: 2085 (July 26, 1907), p. 202.

[211] North China Herald: 2083 (July 12, 1907), pp. 142-143.

government finally intervened with the provincial authorities, the damage had already been done.

> The Throne has sent urgent instructions to the Viceroy of the Liang Kiang provinces and the Governor of Anhui to be careful not to implicate the innocent in connection with the Anking assassination case. It is reported that all the members of Hsu Hsi Lin's family have been liberated. All the property of the family has been confiscated.
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> Great sympathy has been expressed for Hsu Chin Kin [Ch'iu Chin], the headmistress of the 'Ming To' Girls College, who was arrested and executed without trial. She was not even given a chance to defend herself. It is universally believed that the unfortunate lady was innocent of any connection with Hsu Hsi Lin's revolutionary schemes.[212]

Thus, Ch'iu's self-sacrifice was effective in weakening the government due to the bad publicity it endured through her "martyrdom". As Rankin suggests,

> As a martyr she was an almost instantaneous success. Her sex, her deportment in front of the officials, her hasty execution, and doubts about whether she was really guilty in face of her denial of knowledge of revolutionary plans all disposed public opinion in her favor. Right after her execution, the story spread that in jail before she had died, she had asked for paper and wrote 'The autumn rain and the autumn wind will make me die of sorrow . . .', the poem which has since practically been made into her trademark, inseparable from her revolutionary image.[213]

Whether it was actually written by Ch'iu or by one of her sympathizers is

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[212] South China Morning Post, VII: 170 (Thursday, July 25, 1907), p. 7. See also Appendix IX: A Victim of a Governor's Panic.

[213] The poem is a play on words involving the double meaning of ch'iu as both autumn and Ch'iu's name. The appearance of that character as an element in the character ch'ou meaning melancholy or sorrow and the easy analogy of wind and rain with tears and sighs had all been used by Ch'iu in her earlier poetry. Rankin, Early Chinese Revolutionaries, p. 291.

irrelevant when compared with its propaganda effect. By the end of 1907, the first edition of her poetry had been published and Ch'iu's fame was ensured.[214]

The government further weakened itself in regards to public opinion through the hasty and arbitrary arrests and confiscations enacted against anyone suspected of complicity or even with knowing Ch'iu or Hsu. En-ming's assassination and the preceeding T'ung-meng hui risings and rice riots throughout the spring and summer had left local and provincial officials in great fear of further uprisings. By dealing harshly with the leaders and leniently with their followers, the officials hoped to frighten other revolutionaries and convince secret society members to renounce their ties--a fairly standard course of action followed by government officials many times before in response to outbreaks of violence. However, circumstances were somewhat different when the officials began to make wholesale arrests, searches, and confiscations of property. Although some of the arrests and seizures could be justified, many were initiated solely by interests of blackmail and extortion. And, the unnecessary actions tended to discredit all government moves and to alienate much of the educated elite. The officials were frightened by the number of revolutionaries from the scholar class and were already vaguely aware of the "threats" posed by the new schools and returned students; and this

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[214] Ayscough says that no one dared to claim Ch'iu's body after her execution until a charitable organization buried her on a nearby hill. Later her son took her body to the family burial ground, but in 1912, Sun Yat-sen had her reburied near Yo Fei, her model. Ayscough, Chinese Women, p. 174.

suspicion led to what appeared to many to be a general purge of all new schools and a threat not only to those connected with Ch'iu and Hsu but to all moderate reformers in Chekiang or Anhwei.[215] The widespread alarm resulted in girl students with unbound feet being required to bind them and many parents withdrawing their children from school. As the protests grew and included many influential people, the authorities were finally forced to moderate their approach, but the damage had already been done.

> The evidence of Ch'iu Chin's treason, which was quite strong if the government had presented it properly was overlooked by much of the literate public in their animosity toward Kuei-fu and Governor Chang. Since Kuei-fu was a Manchu, it was easy for criticism to take an anti-Manchu turn.[216]

Kuei-fu was later transferred to Anhwei where he was as unpopular as he had become in Shaohsing, and Governor Chang Tseng-yang was also transferred but soon retired from all offices--his career ended by his role in Ch'iu's execution.[217] Therefore, Ch'iu's execution and its subsequent

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[215]There were reports that the Viceroy of the Liang Kiang provinces desired to close all schools and colleges in his provinces. Further,

> "The reports of the Anhui assassination reached Chenchou and has had a very deleterious effect on all things new, especially on the new schools. The girls' school has not been reopened and the reason given by an old friend of the writer was that the action of the woman connected with the Anhui affair made it unwise to educate women in China."

North China Herald, LXXXV: 2098 (October 25, 1907), p. 250.

[216]Rankin, Early Chinese Revolutionaries, pp. 188-190.

[217]There was great personal animosity directed against prefect Kuei-fu and Governor Chang Tseng-yang of Chekiang "in consequence of his [Chang's] recent action in ordering the decapitation of the female teacher Ch'iu Chin at Shaohsing without sufficient evidence to convict her as a revolutionary and his opposition to modern education in Chekiang province." Thus, opposition to modernization was linked to the "martyrdom" of Ch'iu Chin. North China Herald, LXXXV: 2098 (October 25, 1907), p. 225.

undermining of public faith in the government did fulfill her hopes of contributing to the success of the Revolution. However, it was to be a Revolution vastly different from what Ch'iu envisioned. It would not be led by an elite of radical students for they were too weakened by successive uprisings and executions. In Chekiang, the Kuang-fu hui practically disappeared as a revolutionary force. And although, several secret society risings occurred during the rest of the year to keep the province in turmoil, they were ultimately more damaging to the secret societies than to the government. When revolution came in 1911, it would be controlled by more moderate groups who had lost sympathy with the government only partly because of actions like Ch'iu's "martyrdom", and by new army units whose importance she had only started to recognize.

It was during these last six months of her life that Ch'iu was able to fulfill her aspirations as she planned for an uprising which, if successful, would alter the course of her nation's history. And, even as she saw the uprising disintegrate around her, Ch'iu was able to prepare herself to assume the role of China's first female martyr for the revolutionary cause. Having assumed the name Chien-hu nu-hsia (Heroine of Chien Lake), Ch'iu was fully prepared to adopt an individualistic and self-sacrificing stance in the movement to overthrow the Manchus. In this way she typified many of the young radical students who viewed their nationalism as an individualistic stand against the Manchus and traditional Chinese society. Also, like many others, Ch'iu looked to action rather than theorizing or elaborate planning to advance the revolutionary cause. Thus, her uprising would show a lack of thorough planning and coordination

with other groups which made its success virtually impossible and made her death seem perhaps even more tragic.

Her position as a "woman" revolutionary, still something of a curiosity in early twentieth century China, tended to exacerbate her feelings of loneliness and uniqueness. Although she seems to have been remarkably well-accepted by the other revolutionaries, she still had to face strong opposition from her own family with whom she had always been close--her mother seemed willing to support her but her two brothers bitterly disapproved of her actions. And, her decision vitually to cut herself off from her husband and her own two children must have been a bitter one. As Rankin suggests, "After 1904 she seems to have hovered between exaltation over her new freedom and despair over the slowness and difficulty of realizing her ideals. It then became imperative for her to prove to herself and others that her decision had been right."[218]

Although Ch'iu had stated in a speech that if Chinese women were determined they could find ways to escape from their traditional position, it was still a difficult and lonely road for a woman and Ch'iu's poetry in this period was often filled with melancholy.[219] Her sense of urgency to make a contribution to China's salvation before it was too late was

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[218]Rankin, Early Chinese Revolutionaries, p. 45, citing letters to her brother Ch'iu Yu.

[219]Much of Ch'iu's early poetry showed this melancholy, but in 1904-1905 during her stay in Japan, her homesickness and loneliness were intensified by the humiliation felt by Chinese students during the Russo-Japanese war.

exacerbated by the seeming indifference of the Chinese people to lead her to picture herself as a lone patriot who must single-handedly rescue her country. This feeling combined with the recurrent theme of the hero in Ch'iu's writings and actions. Based partly on her interpretation of the Buddhist Bodhisattva who gave up personal salvation to lead others to the right path and her identification with "modern" Western figures, like Sophia Perovskaya, Ch'iu's hero image also drew heavily on her readings of Chinese tradition. Seeing her country and its people defenseless, she followed the oft-cited revolutionary idea of a self-sacrificing elite protecting and guiding lesser compatriots to a free and equal future society. But she added to this, her own romanticism about the traditional Chinese hero from the Romance of the Three Kingdoms or the Mou kung-jen chuan (Biography of a Palace Woman).[220] She consciously modelled herself after Yo Fei, the twelfth century patriot who had been betrayed during his struggle against the Tartar invasion of China.[221]

It was these feelings of self-sacrifice and urgency which were to push Ch'iu towards a death which she could easily have avoided by simply escaping before it was too late. But Ch'iu's individualism did not allow

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[220] A palace woman changed clothes with a princess in order to assassinate the bandit leader Li Tzu-ch'eng, who had attacked the palace at the end of the Ming. But instead she was given to one of his generals as a concubine and seeing no chance to pursue her original aim, she killed him and then herself. Not only is the chief figure a woman, but it dramatically presents the self-sacrifice theme. Ibid., p. 256.

[221] Ch'iu visited Yo Fei's tomb at West Lake, Hangchow in March, 1907, with Hsu Tzu-hua and expressed a desire to be buried there if she should die. Ayscough, Chinese Women, p. 149 and p. 167.

her to think of saving herself or her organization for another attempt against the government. Instead she thought only of a dramatic death which would bring her honor and bring sympathy for the revolutionary cause.

RECRUITING FEMALE STUDENTS FOR THE T'UNG-MENG HUI

There were other women members of the revolutionary organizations who played a less dramatic role than Ch'iu and thus, little is known of their activities. Ch'iu's friend, Hsu Tzu-hua, a poetess and educator, had also joined the Kuang-fu hui under Ch'iu's patronage, but she did not appear to play an active role. Living in the interior of China her activities would have to be more circumspect than those of the Yin sisters, Jui-chih and Wei-chun, who continued party work in Shanghai through to the Revolution.[222]

The T'ung-meng hui also had its women members largely recruited from the young female students in Japan or in China's modern schools. One of the most influential of these women members was Ho Hsiang-ning, recorded as the first woman to join the T'ung-meng hui.

Ho was born July 6, 1876, in Nanhai, Kwangtung but spent her early years primarily in Hong Kong, where her wealthy comprador family was involved in the tea business.[223] Little has been recorded of her early

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[222] Rankin, Early Chinese Revolutionaries, p. 106.

[223] Her family is described as one of the noted merchant families in modern China, related to Sir Robert Ho-tung, a famous banker, industrialist, and philanthropist. Snow, Modern Women in China, p. 100.

childhood, which appears to have been a traditional one devoid of travel or a modern education abroad. In 1897, she married Liao Chung-k'ai, the son of a Christian bank interpreter in San Francisco, who had arrived in China at the age of seventeen with little money and less knowledge of the Chinese people. Liao was chosen by Ho's family for their daughter and they were married in Canton.[224] The marriage appears to have been a very happy one--and was to become the envy and pride of Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang because of its ideal partnership between husband and wife working together for their party and nation.

Following their marriage, Ho's family provided funds to allow the young couple to continue their education in Japan. Therefore, in 1902, they arrived in Tokyo, Liao to study law, economics, and politics at Waseda University and Ho to study painting at the Tokyo Girls Art School.[225] There they met other Chinese students, many of whom were sympathetic to the anti-Manchu movement led by Sun Yat-sen. In the summer of 1903, they met Sun personally and became active supporters of his plans for a revolution. In 1905, they joined the T'ung-meng hui, Ho as its first female member and Liao as an important theoretician.[226] Ho and Liao

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[224] Why the Ho family would choose this poor young man without notable family connections is uncertain, although Snow emphasizes his great charm and natural leadership abilities. Ibid., p. 100.

[225] Ho was known in China also as a poet-painter in the Classical tradition and a collection of her paintings was published as Ho Hsiang-ning hua-chi. Howard L. Boorman, ed., Biographical Dictionary of Republican China (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 68.

[226] Snow describes Liao as the best theoretical brain of the T'ung-meng hui and the Kuomintang. He was the first member to study

became Sun's closest friends and their home became the T'ung-meng hui headquarters in Japan. Ho busied herself writing letters to the overseas Chinese to solicit funds for their campaigns and looked after Sun's mail. She also made flags and badges for the T'ung-meng hui members.

It must have been a busy time for Ho as she also continued her studies at the Tokyo Girls' Art School to graduate in 1910. At a time when Chinese women from wealthy families seldom concerned themselves with domestic chores, Ho did all her own housework[227] and looked after her two young children--a daughter Liao Meng-hsing (Cynthia) born in 1903 and a son Liao Ch'eng-chih born in 1908.[228]

In 1911, she and Liao returned to Canton where she worked to recruit women for the revolutionary cause.[229] Following her sojourn in

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Marxist ideas in 1919 while in exile in Shanghai and began moving to the left, influencing Sun to look at the principles of mass revolution to replace the old idea of a military coup and to tap the widespread sympathy expressed by the people. Snow, Modern Women in China, p. 104.

[227] Boorman, Biographical Dictionary, p. 67.

[228] Cynthia was educated in Tokyo, where she remained until 1923, and in 1937 became an assistant to Soong Ching-ling. She had already been imprisoned along with her husband (Li Shao-shih who was later "murdered" by Chiang Kai-shek) for her left-wing ideas, and in 1949 joined her mother and brother in Peking. Liao Cheng-chih had begun his education at a Catholic school in Japan but in 1919 went with his father to China to study at the Canton Christian College where he studied for six years. He was an active left-wing student during the 1920's and after joining the Communist Party in 1927 travelled to Europe and Russia. He was imprisoned from 1941 to 1946 and was very ill with tuberculosis. However, he also went to Peking in 1949 and held several important posts in the new Communist government. Snow, Modern Women in China, pp. 101-108.

[229] Boorman, Biographical Dictionary, p. 67.

Japan from 1913 to 1923, where she developed a closer friendship with Sun and his new wife, Soong Ching-ling, Ho accompanied her husband once again to Canton in 1923. There she began to take an active role in party affairs, being one of three women taking part in the First National Congress of the Kuomintang held in January, 1924. She was appointed director of the women's department of the Kuomintang, a position she continued to hold until 1927 when Chiang Kai-shek's break with the Communists resulted in the destruction of the department and the imprisonment, torture, and execution of many of the young women who worked under her. Resigning her posts in the Kuomintang, Ho moved to Hong Kong where for twenty years she opposed Chiang Kai-shek and joined with Soong Ching-ling in promoting civil liberties in China and defending political prisoners of the Kuomintang.[230] Finally in April, 1949, she left Hong Kong for north China where she assumed several offices under the new Chinese Communist government.[231]

Although Ho's most active period of working for women's rights occurred after the 1911 Revolution, she had already demonstrated her own personal desire to move out of the traditional female pattern by following her husband to Japan and joining him in education and revolutionary work.[232]

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[230] Ibid., p. 68.

[231] She was elected to the Central People's Government Council and was made Chairman of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission which she held until 1959. She also held the office of honorary chairman of the China Women's Federation.

[232] Following Sun's death in early 1925, Liao had become one of the most powerful men in the Kuomintang. However, as a strong advocate of

Like others of her generation, Ho relegated the fight to establish female rights to a secondary position while she devoted herself to the struggle to free China from Manchu domination. By her own personal example she raised the prestige of women in China. Her marriage set the model for new marriages based on a true partnership and a role or career for the wife outside the home, and Ho's career in the T'ung-meng hui and the Kuomintang opened new avenues for women in China.

Although Ho had shown no interest in political events during her early life in Hong Kong, she could not escape the revolutionary atmosphere which pervaded much of Chinese student life in Japan. Student friends introduced her and her husband to the anti-Manchu movement and Sun Yat-sen's magnetic personality tied them to his cause through personal loyalty. By making use of her family's business connections with overseas Chinese, Ho was able to help Sun with his extensive fund-raising campaigns; and as a "modern woman", she was able to appeal to young Chinese girl students to join the T'ung-meng hui. She could personally show them how their personal desires for education and emancipation could only be furthered through the revolutionary program as the Ch'ing government was too reactionary to encourage true female freedom. Moreover, she was an example of a woman combining her personal interest in education and her family with a revolutionary career. There can be little doubt of Ho's impact on

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Sun's policies of alignment with the Chinese Communists and the Soviet Union, he had aroused the wrath of more conservative elements in the Kuomintang and on August 20, 1925, he was assassinated at Canton. Ho, who was with him was uninjured and continued her party work after his death; i.e., in January, 1926, she and Soong Ching-ling were the first women elected to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang.

young Chinese girls desirous of breaking away from family and social restrictions to pursue a modern career, either through education or revolution. Her devotion to Sun's revolutionary cause must have been apparent and encouraged other young girls to devote themselves to revolution.

Chang Mo-chun was another young female student drawn into the revolutionary movement by her contact with revolutionary activists and their writings. Born on October 4, 1883, into a gentry family in Hsianghsiang, Hunan, Chang was raised in an environment which allowed her to pursue her own classical studies[233] and kept her in touch with political affairs. Both her parents were scholars--her father, Chang Po-ch'un, a Hanlin scholar and official and her mother, Ho I-hsiao, an esteemed poet. After receiving her early education at home from her mother, Chang attended middle school at Nanking where her father was education commissioner under Tuan-fang, governor-general of the Liang-kiang provinces. She also taught primary school and studied English. While in Nanking, Chang came in contact with the Ko-ming chun (Revolutionary Army) of Tsou Jung and Jen-hsueh (Study in Benevolence) by T'an Ssu-t'ung. She was also influenced by the progressive views of her father who was sympathetic to the new ideas of nationalism.

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[233]Chang's background in classical Chinese literature brought her recognition as a poetess in the classical sense and as a first-rate woman calligrapher. Howard L. Boorman, Men and Politics in Modern China (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), pp. 16-19 and Boorman, Biographical Dictionary, pp. 85-87, provide the information on Chang's life.

When Chang went to Shanghai to continue her studies at the Wu-pen Girls School, she read radical journals like the Hsin Hu-nan (New Hunan Journal) and Che-chiang ch'ao (Tides of Chekiang) and met members of the revolutionary movement. Through association with Huang Hsing and Ch'iu Chin, she joined the T'ung-meng hui and was drawn into the secret work of planning revolution in Chekiang and Kiangsu. After graduating from Wu-pen Girls School, she taught at the Kiangsu provincial Ts'ui-min Girls School and continued to study English at Laura Haygood Normal School in Soochow. However, political activities intervened to dissuade Chang from continuing her education in the United States. Her contacts through her father with Ch'ing officials provided valuable information for the revolutionary cause and her political associates persuaded her to continue her revolutionary activities.

When revolution finally broke out in October, 1911, both Chang and her father played important roles in Soochow's declaration of independence from Manchu rule. While her father served as adviser to the new government, Chang worked on propaganda materials and editorialized through the Ta Han pao (Great Han Journal). Following the Revolution, Chang turned her attention to women's rights and education. Organizing the "Society of Shen-chou [Chinese] Women for the Support of the Republic", Chang turned to journalism and the founding of the Shen-chou Girls School, becoming its first principal in 1914. Her work in raising funds for the new provisional government at Nanking brought her an appointment to the Kuomintang Shanghai headquarters as chief of the correspondence section. With her interest in education, Chang was sent to the United States in 1918 to

study Western educational methods and while inspecting schools and colleges, she studied at the Teachers College of Columbia University. Following travel in Europe and Southeast Asia, she returned to the Shen-chou Girls School in 1920. She was then appointed to head the Kiangsu First Girls Normal School and became involved in the popular education movement. Like other women activists in this period, Chang did not allow her September 1924, marriage to Shao Yuan-ch'ung to interfere with her political activities and she continued to hold prominent education and political posts in the Kuomintang. Only the sudden death of her husband in December 1936,[234] led her to withdraw from public life for four years. She then returned to her political posts in the Kuomintang and followed Chiang's government to Taiwan where she remained active until her death on January 30, 1965.

The impact of radical student publications, such as Tsou Jung's Revolutionary Army and editorials berating the Manchus for their cowardice and corruption, was to stir China's young students of both sexes. Chang Mo-chun was no exception and her introduction to Western theory and values at a young, impressionable age made her willing to countenance radical change and support a new Chinese nationalism. Brought up in a home where these ideas could be freely discussed and where nationalism was also taking hold, Chang was ready for contact with progressive students.

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[234] Shao was shot by snipers while accompanying Chiang Kai-shek to Sian for conferences with Chang Hsueh-liang. Chang retired to her mother's house in Hunan and devoted herself to looking after her young son, writing poetry, and practicing her calligraphy.

Certainly dedicated revolutionaries, such as Huang Hsing and Ch'iu Chin, would make a deep impression on the young girl and strongly influence her choice between the revolutionary and reform movements. With her home available as a revolutionary base, Chang had much to offer her radical comrades and an opportunity to aid the revolutionary cause. Once again, nationalism and the needs of the nation pushed personal goals to the sideline, and personal interests in education would only resurface after the 1911 Revolution and still within the context of strengthening the nation.

GIRL REVOLUTIONARY

Whereas Ho and Chang contented themselves with doing propaganda work for the T'ung-meng hui, other young girls sought a move active role in plotting the overthrow of the Manchus. They began to drill and practice the military arts for a time when they might be called upon to fight their enemies and planned assassination attempts to demoralize their opponents and awaken their countrymen to the serious situation confronting their nation. Youthful ardor and self-sacrifice characterized these girls, such as Soumay Tcheng.

Soumay Tcheng has described herself as being "revolutionary by nature" daring to defy the established custom of footbinding and later to break a betrothal arranged by her grandmother. It was due to this second act of defiance that Soumay was sent to her first Western school in Tientsin where she came in contact with the thoughts which were to lead her to the revolutionary movement and initiate her into the dangerous

tasks of bomb-smuggling and assassination.

Born Cheng Yu-hsiu in 1896 in the huge family mansion in Canton, Soumay spent her early years surrounded by the extended family system presided over by her paternal grandmother. Soumay described her grandmother as ultra-conservative, rather talented, and iron-willed[235] and Soumay and her grandmother were to have many clashes.[236] Like many other young children, the dominant influence in Soumay's earliest years was her mother, who became her friend, companion, and confidante. The daughter of a general who was unhappy with her fate as a wife in a large Chinese family, Soumay's mother urged her to strike out for herself, get an education, and break way from the stifling tradition which surrounded Chinese women.

> . . . you must strike out for yourself. Develop your intelligence first, and then perhaps you may be able to help others and to be of use to them. There have been many women in our history who have done great things for their country.[237]

Then she would go on to tell Soumay the story of Mulan.

Soumay's major childhood confrontation came at the time when she was to have her feet bound. She at first submitted as all the little girls in the household had bound feet and she did not wish to bring

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[235] Wei, My Revolutionary Years, p. 3.

[236] Her first clash with her grandmother was over the beating of a servant girl following a children's fight. She also brought shame on her mother because of her desire to play with her brothers. Ibid., pp. 6-7.

[237] B. Van Vorst, A Girl From China (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1925), p. 10.

further humiliation onto her mother. Her mother described the reason for footbinding:

> The legend is . . . that hundreds and hundreds of years ago, the king of one of our great provinces of the South one day saw on the dust the fresh footprints of some woman who had passed that way. The traces were of a foot so exceedingly small that the king at once cried out, 'I wish to make a queen of the girl who has walked in this path.' She was found and he married her and so all the women of the province were jealous of her good fortune. Longing to meet with an equally happy fate, they began to mutilate their feet in the hope of diminishing their size. Such was the origin of the cruel custom--so the story goes. Like thousands of others, I have been its victim.[238]

However, the pair was such that the first night she removed the bandages. Although this was followed by a reprimand, after the third day, Soumay could no longer stand the bandages and feeling that her mother would support her, she created such a scene as to bring on her grandmother's wrath.

> Very well, then. Take the bandages off. Her feet will grow the size of an elephant's. No one will ever marry her, but so be it. I wash my hands of the whole business.[239]

During these early years, Soumay had no contact with her father who was serving in Peking as a senior official in the board of finance. However, her mother was unhappy with the enforced estrangement, and under Soumay's persistent arguments, she decided to join her husband in Peking. The trip alone was a great step as Chinese women did not normally leave their homes, and Soumay had seldom been out of the house in Canton. Now

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[238] Ibid.

[239] Wei, My Revolutionary Years, pp. 10-11.

she was to go through Hong Kong where she saw her first foreigners and men and women walking and talking together without restraint. After three weeks in Hong Kong, the family travelled by boat to Tientsin and by train to Peking. Although the reunion in Peking was not happy for Soumay's mother, Soumay herself adored her father and her lively interest in everything led him to take her everywhere with him--dressed as a young boy so as to avoid stares.

Soumay had started her schooling in Canton where the family employed a scholar to give the children lessons in Chinese writing and the basic philosophy of Confucius. In Peking, Soumay's father sent her to a girls' school to begin a serious study of the Chinese classics and Chinese history. Soumay began to desire an advanced education and perhaps, study abroad. Luckily for her, after 1900 a few Chinese parents were beginning to think of educating their daughters.

Just after Soumay turned thirteen, her grandmother decided to come to Peking to join the family. The tension between Soumay's mother and grandmother became so strained that Soumay's father ceased to come home, much to his daughter's disappointment. Soon Soumay's grandmother became involved in plans for her betrothal to the young son of the Governor of Canton. Of course, Soumay was not consulted and acquiesced with the feeling of keeping peace in the family and not having to worry about marriage for several years.[240] However, the calm was shattered a few months later when Soumay was told that her fiance was eager to have their marriage

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[240] Ibid., p. 23.

take place within the following year. After hearing unflattering reports about her fiance, including his dislike of anything modern, Soumay's natural fear of marrying a total stranger led her to oppose her marriage. A remark by her intended in-laws against her education had already upset her father so Soumay begged him to find some way to break her engagement. However, the situation was so difficult that Soumay finally wrote to her fiance herself suggesting that he marry someone else as she intended to go to America or Europe to finish her studies.[241]

Soumay's unorthodox behavior caused a great turmoil for both families and it was decided that she must leave Peking. Although her desire was to be sent to Europe, she was instead enrolled in a girls boarding school in Tientsin run by American missionary ladies. At Chung-si (School of East and West) Soumay began to study English and adopt Western habits of dress and eating. Unwilling to accept the education normally given Chinese girls to prepare them for the duties of wife and mother, Soumay began to look for a training which would allow her to assume her own place in a modern China.

Whereas Soumay's father remained largely resigned to the events taking place in China during the first decade of the twentieth century, Soumay was young and did not share his conservatism. She did not agree with him that there was no longer any great differences between the Manchus and the Chinese and could not accept with such equanimity the

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[241] Ibid., pp. 25-27.

deterioration in government ability after the deaths of Tzu-hsi and Kuang-hsu.[242] While her father showed signs of discouragement, Soumay became aroused by the weakened position of her nation and came to accept the idea that she must devote herself to her country. To Soumay's very young mind the only group capable of comprehending China's needs and willing to work for the necessary modernization were the young students who went abroad to [illegible] learning and institutions of the West. It was the young revolutionary students who inspired Soumay to go to Japan to join the revolutionary cause.

> They were determined on their return to China, to overthrow the reactionary Manchu regime and establish in its stead a Republic which would put China in tune with the forces of the modern era. They knew that the Chinese people, being fundamentally democratic in spirit, would support them in their great endeavor.[243]

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[242] B. Van Vorst gives a different account of her father's attitudes: for example, his comment on the death of the Dowager Empress, ". . . this death of the Empress must be something more than simply the end of a long life--the regime itself must expire now. . . ." She also presents very anti-Manchu sentiments as being expressed by Soumay's father:

> As you know we were vanquished over two hundred and fifty years ago by this hostile race from the North . . . Ever since that date we have been, as I say, exploited by the Manchus. They have drained our riches without developing the country, they have parcelled the land to foreigners without increasing our prestige. Their first acts were to humiliate the Chinese. They forced us to wear Manchu costume, they obliged our men to let their hair grow in the long tail as a sign of servitude, 'like a horse's tail', they said, and like horses they tried to drive us.
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> . . . we considered the Manchus as barbarians, for they had no culture, no literature. They were cruel and without honour. They sacked and pillaged our towns and villages. . . .

Van Vorst, Girl From China, p. 96 and pp. 97-98.

[243] Wei, My Revolutionary Years, p. 40.

Such was the simplistic faith of youth!

Unable to take her father into her confidence, Soumay attempted to find out about the revolutionaries in Japan. However, she was unable to find out anything specific about the T'ung-meng hui or its leaders in Peking and was confronted with the problem of convincing her father to send her to Japan. Expressing her desire to see something of the world outside China, Soumay asked to be able to visit Japan and her father suggested that she continue her studies in Tokyo. So at the age of fifteen, Soumay set sail for Japan and the beginning of her revolutionary career.

However, it was more difficult for Soumay to make contact with the revolutionaries than she had at first imagined. Accompanied by a family servant, Tung Ur,[244] she began to tour Chinese shops in Kobe hoping that one of the owners could lead her to the T'ung-meng hui members. Luckily she fell into contact with one of the members and after careful questioning, she was introduced to other members of the T'ung-meng hui. She was later able to attend several secret meetings and met Dr. Sun Yat-sen whose magnetism and visionary words inspired her.[245] After several weeks she was sworn into the T'ung-meng hui, swearing to serve the cause of

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[244]Tung Ur became a faithful companion to Soumay and a revolutionary in his own right. A native of Peking and uneducated, he was extremely patriotic and narrowly missed death on several of his assignments. Three of his brothers who later joined the movement were eliminated by agents of Yuan Shih-k'ai. Ibid., p. 50.

[245]Ibid., p. 45.

establishing a democratic regime in China and should such sacrifice be necessary, giving her life for the cause.

It was decided that Soumay would be of more value to the T'ung-meng hui if she should return to Peking and act as an agent there. Therefore, her father's home, to which mail could come uncensored because of his official position, became a sort of post-office and gathering place for young members of the revolutionary organization. Having enlisted her brother's support, the young men who visited were passed off as his undergraduate friends.

In looking at Soumay's revolutionary activities it is important to keep in mind that although she was only fifteen and still very young emotionally, the temper of the times tended to bring young people to maturity much quicker than normal under peaceful conditions. Instead of spending their teenage years worrying about marriage preparations and betrothals, they turned to political intrigue, assassination, and revolution.[246] And, in this Soumay was not so different from many other students, who, at a relatively young age, decided to devote themselves to their nation's cause. Liang's nationalism had struck a responsive chord. However, the students' general naivety and proclivity for simple answers has already been discussed and Soumay was no exception to these shortcomings either. Moreover, like many other young students, it was the violent deed, the dramatic occurrence, the excitement of street demonstrations

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[246] Ibid., pp. 47-48.

and passionate speeches which loomed largest in her mind.[247]

Soumay did not return to her formal studies upon her return to Peking despite her father's disapproval, and she told her mother that she was involved in a society to open schools and further learning throughout China. Thus, she maintained her freedom and accounted for her frequent comings and goings. Along with her older brother, she proceeded to turn their house into organized revolutionary headquarters.[248]

Although there were other revolutionaries in northern China, the movement was still centred in the south around Shanghai and Canton. At first, Soumay was primarily involved in just organizing a northern branch and in pursuing contacts with foreigners from Europe and America and learning about the world abroad. Thus, Soumay passed the summer of 1911 and did not become actively involved in revolution until after the outbreak in October 1911. Although several southern provinces quickly declared their independence, the Manchus still held northern China. Following an armistice, the revolutionaries began negotiations with the Court and Yuan Shih-k'ai, while at the same time setting up a provisional government led by Sun Yat-sen on January 1, 1912. When the negotiations reached a deadlock over the form of the new government, it was decided to use terrorist tactics to weaken the resolve of the Court and remove some of the obstructionists rather than risk the bloodshed of a northern expedition.

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[247] Ibid., p. 48.

[248] Ibid., p. 49.

Thus, volunteers stepped forward to form a dare-to-die unit for the T'ung-meng hui and Soumay volunteered to carry dynamite from Tientsin to Peking. It was felt that she would raise less suspicion than a man and being the daughter of an official would have less difficulty with the railway officials. With Tung Ur as escort, she went to Tientsin to pick up two suitcases of empty bombs and dynamite. Tung Ur, disguised as a porter, would carry her two extremely heavy suitcases onto the train and two other revolutionists would be her escort. The major problem was the customs in Peking but relying on the help of a young legation diplomat and his diplomatic privileges, Soumay hoped to take her bags through customs unopened. Everything went as planned despite Soumay's nervousness and the bombs were delivered to her revolutionary comrades.[249] Thus, for three months, averaging twice a week, Soumay escorted the explosives from Tientsin to Peking.

With the necessary explosives now available to them, the Peking revolutionists turned to the task of making bombs. Then they selected Yuan Shih-k'ai as the chief obstacle in the path of revolution and planned to assassinate him on January 16, 1912. Using twelve members of the dare-to-die corps, a scheme was arranged to attack him on his usual morning ride along Tingtse Street with twelve bombs thrown simultaneously to ensure against his escape. However, the night before the attack was to be carried out and after "the volunteers had dispersed for the night to

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[249] Ibid., pp. 55-57. For details of her last and most frightening trip, see Ibid., pp. 58-61.

await their rendezvous with death and glory the next morning", a message was received with urgent instructions that Yuan's life was to be spared as he was not the one responsible for the stalemate.[250] The remaining T'ung-meng hui members immediately tried to locate the volunteers but only eight of the twelve could be found. Soumay then headed for the assassination point in an attempt to warn the remaining four, but found only strange pedestrians. Seeing Yuan's carriage approach, Soumay heard an explosion and frightened cries as people scattered in all directions. Thinking that Yuan must have been killed, Soumay was elated as she still held Yuan to be an obstructionist, and began to fire her own gun in the air and scream with excitement. Suddenly realizing her foolishness, she was seized by panic and throwing away her gun, began to mingle with the crowd in order to find out what had happened to her comrades. Finding that three had been caught red-handed and that the fourth had made good his escape, she headed home only to learn later that Yuan had escaped unharmed.[251]

The revolutionists then turned their attention to General Liang Pi, the Manchu General who was now regarded as the leading obscanturist. Finally a single volunteer, Pong Gia Chen, an officer in the Manchu army, was selected to assassinate him. He was to approach the General on the pretext of seeking an audience with him on official orders and when close

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[250] Ibid., p. 64.

[251] The three revolutionists were executed. Ibid., pp. 65-67.

enough throw his bomb. The date selected was January 26, and on that morning Pong successfully killed General Liang although he was himself killed by the explosion.[252]

The violent death of their most trusted General did frighten the Manchus so that several princes fled Peking with their families; and at a meeting held to consider the abdication, the Empress Lung-yu as regent, finally commissioned Yuan to negotiate with the provisional government. On February 12, 1912, the young emperor abdicated and after Sun Yat-sen's resignation as President, Yuan Shih-k'ai replaced him as President of the new republic.

Although Soumay Tcheng's activities from 1908 to 1911 may seem trivial, her actions are important in looking at the response of young Chinese students to what they regarded as a hopelessly degenerate Ch'ing regime. They saw no hope for reform under the present government and saw its overthrowal and the establishment of a republic as the answer to China's problems. Seldom looking beyond the problems of the revolution itself, they had few concrete plans for China's rejuvenation and were thus willing to compromise with Yuan Shih-k'ai.

Soumay Tcheng was in many ways typical of these young students. She was impulsive, excitable, and looking for quick solutions. Imbued with patriotic ardor, she was willing to risk her life for her country and like Ch'iu Chin was inspired by the heroic act. But she differed from her male comrades in that she was a woman and everything she did was

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[252] Ibid., pp. 68-70.

in this sense more revolutionary. At a time when girls still had their feet bound and married their fiances as chosen by their families, Soumay refused to do either. She joined a relatively small number of girls who desired a modern education and planned a career beyond the home.[253] These steps in themselves set her away from the average Chinese girl, but she joined an even more select group when, stirred by nationalistic sentiments, she pursued a revolutionary career as a member of the T'ung-meng hui. Only by looking at their activities in the light of the traditional role envisioned for Chinese women and still accepted by the majority, can we truly see just how revolutionary Soumay Tcheng and her "sisters" Ch'iu Chin, Chang Mo-chun and Ho Hsiang-ning really were.

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[253] In 1914 Soumay began to study in France and in 1919 was appointed an attache to the Chinese delegation at the Paris Peace Conference. As a prominent figure in the Chinese student organization in France, she opposed the transfer of the former German rights in Shantung province to Japan. She had also become involved in the struggle for women's rights and supervised a group of twenty girls from Szechuan in France to study. Finally in 1925 she received her doctorate in law from the University of Paris and returned to China to begin a legal career. She and Wei Tao-ming established a joint law firm in the French concession of Shanghai and she came to hold several important legal positions, although there appears to be some question of whether she actually served as the first woman judge in the International Settlement (Boorman contradicts her claim). She and Wei were married in August 1927, and in 1928 she was appointed to the Legislative Yuan and as one of five members of a commission to codify Chinese civil law. After 1931 she returned to Shanghai to practice law, concurrently serving as President of the law school of the University of Shanghai until 1937. In 1941 she and Wei arrived in the United States on their way to France where Wei had been appointed ambassador and in 1942 Wei succeeded Hu Shih as ambassador to the United States. Involved in wartime relief work, Soumay published her autobiography in 1943. They spent the years 1946 to 1948 in China and then returned to the United States where Soumay died in Los Angeles on December 16, 1959.

THE RESPONSE TO NATIONALISM

Yen Fu's wealth and power concepts had struck a responsive chord in China's young women. As individuals they must be allowed to develop fully their innate abilities without the restrictions of Confucianism which tied them to their homes and families. Their personal desires for education and a career beyond housewife and mother corresponded with the modern nation's need for an active, educated citizenry. Their personal struggle to break away from the traditional female pattern, thus, became part of the total modernization of China.

Bombarded by newspaper reports of China's perilous position and witnessing Western assaults through the Boxer troubles and new concessions of the early twentieth century, China's young women students often reacted emotionally and violently. With their nation's survival seemingly in jeopardy, the students would not accept anything less than radical change. As they saw the Manchu government hesitating at such reform and appearing unable or unwilling to deal effectively with the Western powers, they redirected their attacks away from the foreigners and towards their own government.

Liang Chi-ch'ao's nationalism appealed to the emotions. Like Yen Fu, he suggested a reevaluation of Chinese tradition and values based on their relevancy to building a new Chinese nation to compete in a modern setting of powerful independent nations. Culturalism was dead as China could no longer exist as the centre of a cultural realm of her own. The young students no longer questioned the need for reform and

modernization, but simply demanded the implementation of these changes as quickly as possible. They did not consider the far-reaching repercussions of the modernization schemes they supported. As China's present inferior position was based on the weaknesses of her traditional society, this must be overturned. Many of these social changes would also free China's women to assume an important role in their nation's development.

Another element of Liang's nationalism, which had a strong appeal to these young women, was the need for the people to identify their individual interests with the interests of the state. Loyalty to the family and to the ruling dynasty was to be replaced by a loyalty to the nation itself. But, this new loyalty must also involve popular participation in government decision-making. The "new Chinese citizens" must be educated to assume their responsibilities to their nation. Once again feminist desires corresponded with the nation's needs and "duty" became an important part of the lives of Ch'iu Chin and Soumay Tcheng and others.

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao had introduced anti-Manchuism through his attacks on the Ch'ing court and through the concepts of nationalism: and when he drew back to constitutional government under the Manchus, the students sought a new leader in Sun Yat-sen. The students, including the women students, saw the Manchus as the source of China's weakness and looking for quick, simplistic solutions, accepted Sun's premise that the removal of the dynasty in favor of a republican government led by the students themselves would solve all of China's problems. In fact, Ch'iu Chin and Soumay Tcheng seldom looked beyond the actual revolution itself.

The progressively more radical aspects of Chinese nationalism caught the imagination of these young Chinese women, and Soumay Tcheng and Ch'iu Chin linked their personal struggles against society to the nation's struggle to reform and modernize. Thus, their feminist goals were inextricably tied to their patriotic impulses and one reinforced the other. Female emancipation was important because it would strengthen China. All Ch'iu Chin's writings reflect this theme: for, how could China become a strong nation if half her population remained illiterate and unaware of events outside the home? Traditions which stopped China's young women from fulfilling their role as citizens also hampered China's growth as a nation. A nation's strength was dependent on the abilities and support of all her citizens; and, thus, women's interests in education, equality and careers could be identified with the future of the nation--where they could not, national interests took precedence. Thus, young women such as Ch'iu Chin and Soumay Tcheng, were ready to accept their duties to their nation, sacrificing themselves and personal goals if necessary.

Student organizations and journals intensified the emotional atmosphere within which these young women lived. School strikes and clashes with the Chinese authorities inflamed feelings. Ch'iu Chin was active in the debates surrounding the 1905 education restrictions on students in Japan and it was a turning point in her life. Ho Hsiang-ning was also in Japan during the agitation over Russian demands in Manchuria and these events must have influenced her 1903 meeting with Sun Yat-sen. Chang Mo-chun and Soumay Tcheng testified to the impact radical student publications had on their early school years. The writings of these

women all reflect basic student themes while echoing the ideological conflict between Sun Yat-sen and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. These women wrote of their fears that China would disappear unless the Manchus were overthrown and castigated the Manchus for giving concessions to the foreigners while impoverishing the Chinese people through their corruption and special privileges. Their writings also reflected the basic student frustration at their isolation from the Chinese people and their inability to awaken them to the nation's plight. Like their male compatriots, they often reacted by turning to self-sacrifice and the daring deed. Worsening relations with the government led to a radicalization of the student movement and these young women also turned to more radical solutions.

Ch'iu Chin's execution served as a prime example of the effectiveness of self-sacrifice in arousing others. Her death and its repercussions fitted in with Sun's ideas on revolution as a means to undermine public confidence in the government and arouse fear in the officials themselves further weakening the government position. Soumay Tcheng also followed these revolutionary premises through her role in planning assassinations to hasten the Manchu abdication. Isolated personally by their revolutionary work and by the fact that they were women, Ch'iu Chin and Soumay Tcheng pictured themselves as lone patriots sacrificing themselves for their nation. They were not part of a women's movement but members of a student nationalist reaction against the Manchu government. Their nationalism was an individualistic stand against the alien Manchu rulers and traditional Chinese society which hampered the growth of Chinese nationhood. The feminine revolt against tradition was an important

element of their nationalism and often cut them off from their families and society. Their modern schooling led them to question their traditional values and the consequent introduction to Western thought led them into student politics and the belief, as expressed by Soumay Tcheng, that only the radical students could save China. Thus, all their loyalty and emotional attachment was directed towards their new nation and their lives were dedicated to the fulfillment of their nationalistic goals.

CHAPTER VI

NATIONALISM AND FEMINISM

The revolutionary student movement of the first decade of the twentieth century must be viewed in the context of China's reaction to Western pressures dating back to the 1840's. Whereas the early "self-strengtheners" had thought only to adopt certain aspects of Western military technology and industrialization, the 1898 reformers had begun to study the whole range of Western governmental, political, social, and economic innovations. As China's weakness became more shockingly apparent, even to the most conservative elements of the bureaucracy, reform became the accepted policy of all groups. However, reform could take many different forms and result in far-reaching political and societal changes and thus, it encountered strong opposition from powerful, entrenched segments of Chinese society. But, having once accepted the need for reform, there could be no turning back and the slowness of change only led to more radical calls for quick implementation of sweeping programs and growing hostility towards the dynasty which appeared to be unwilling or unable to implement effective reforms. Therefore, certain radical groups came to identify reform with the overthrowal of the Ch'ing dynasty.

The revolutionary student group sprang from the modern schools teaching Western subjects and the education movement for study abroad. The new schools in China and Japan brought together students and scholars already dissatisfied with the traditional educational system and societal

restraints and also those who were more emotionally unhappy with China's current weakness in resisting Western imperialism. Therefore, their educational and social dissatisfactions were intensified by a new patriotism which reacted violently to further examples of China's declining world position.

The students as a group were not committed to traditional values but were anxious to study the institutions and values of the modern Western world in order to discover those things which would help China in her modernization and in her efforts to compete in a modern world. Yen Fu had introduced the concepts of wealth and power and popularized the ideas of social Darwinism based on the struggle for survival in a competitive world system and emphasizing the need for competition and struggle on an individual level in order to strengthen the nation. To this interest in modernization and national progress had been added an intense nationalistic strain. Gathering strength after the humiliating defeat in the Sino-Japanese war and fanned by the writings of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, this new Chinese nationalism encompassed a new pride in China as a nation in a competitive world scene rather than in China as a cultural centre of her own world. It supported a more critical view of Chinese tradition and further strained relations between the students and the older generations.

A new look at Chinese tradition had also involved a reappraisal of Chinese leadership and the Manchus were found wanting. Still regarded by many as an alien group ruling through special privilege, the Manchus were faced with the new concept of rule through the consent of the people

rather than by the mandate of heaven. For Chinese nationalism had become inseparable from some form of democratization. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao had already stressed the need for popular participation in a modern nation in order to develop personal loyalty to the nation-state rather than to the family or ruler as under the Confucian system. The Chinese people themselves must be reeducated to become the "new people" intensely involved in their nation's development and willing to sacrifice personal goals for the nation's good. The whole idea of an individual sacrificed for society and the present sacrificed for the future dates from this period. However, whereas Liang's nationalism, and much of the early student nationalism, grew in response to the imperialistic pressures against China, Sun was able to redirect this nationalism into anti-Manchuism by picturing the Manchu leadership as the cause of all China's weakness.

To these basic feelings of change and nationalism, the young revolutionary students added highly personal feelings. They tended to accept very simple solutions to complex problems--thus, their support for complete modernization and anti-Manchuism as solutions to all China's ills. They exuded confidence that determined and sustained effort by an educated elite could overcome all difficulties and quickly attain the final goal of an independent and modern China. They tended to be intolerant of those who disagreed with them and regarded any dealings with the government as a sign of weakness and degeneracy. And yet, their sense of urgency and fears of Western interference forced them to compromise with other groups motivated by conflicting desires. Their personal need to escape the restraints of family and society led to extremism and individualism,

although student politics in this period did reflect a subordination of local interests and personal goals to national needs.

Feeling that their position as an educated and enlightened elite entitled them to a special role in the modern China, these young students suffered intense frustrations as they came face to face with the realities of the situation in China. In their student circles in Japan, they could delude themselves with thoughts of a revolutionary tide sweeping over China; but upon their return to their homeland, especially in the interior regions, they were struck forcibly by the changelessness of their nation and people. The local elites were too strong to overthrow and the peasants conservative, superstitious, and ignorant of the outside world. They found little sympathy among the people for their modernization schemes and only the secret societies shared their ideals of overthrowing the Manchu regime. Their intense frustration at the slowness of change led them to dramatic acts of self-sacrifice and involvement in rebellion and assassination attempts as an effective way to arouse the people to their nation's peril. The students were under great psychological strains as having often rejected their families and society, they remained isolated and lonely figures subject to mental breakdowns and emotional outbursts. Often they identified themselves with popular heroes devoted to duty and sacrifice.

China's young women revolutionaries were not immune to these basic student attitudes; in fact, their actions and writings reflect how deeply they were motivated by the same nationalistic aspirations as their male compatriots. They were not committed to traditional values or they would

never have thought of pursuing Western studies and travel abroad. Although she had been brought up in the traditional manner and without the benefits of a modern education, Ho Hsiang-ning stepped out of this traditional pattern to travel to Japan with her husband for studies and then engage in revolutionary work with him.[254] Chang Mo-chun also engaged in Western studies followed by a career in teaching; and Ch'iu Chin, although perhaps the most thoroughly educated in the Chinese classics went farthest in her repudiation of Confucian traditions. Soumay Tcheng was perhaps most like Ch'iu as she described herself as "revolutionary by nature". She shared the same strong will and dislike of the woman's traditional role in the home which led Ch'iu to leave her husband for study in Japan and devote her life to revolution. For Soumay, this character trait led her to refuse to have her feet bound (it is unlikely that Ch'iu's feet were ever bound either) and to reject the marriage arranged by her grandmother. It also led her to desire a modern Western education directed towards a career outside the home.

However, their personal and feminist aspirations were tempered by the times they lived in and the needs of the nation as they saw them. Although Ch'iu's feminism was a very strong element in her character, it was conditioned by national needs and she always saw the emancipation of the Chinese woman in the context of strengthening her nation. Women must

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[254] Through her personal example, Ho would later raise the prestige of modern women in China and her marriage served as a model of true partnership with the wife maintaining a career beyond the home. Chang Mo-chun would also combine marriage with a career in education and politics.

be awakened to defend their country against the Manchus and foreigners; and if the men could not be moved, then the women would provide the inspiration; just as Joan of Arc had for France. Soumay Tcheng, Ho Hsiang-ning, and Chang Mo-chun only began their efforts for female emancipation after the 1911 revolution had removed the Manchu dynasty. Until then, nationalism remained the driving force in their lives.

So strong was the patriotic call of sacrificing all to save the nation that feminist interests were relegated to a secondary position without any serious conflict. Their personal desires for education were constantly deflected by political events so that Ch'iu gave up all interest in her studies in response to the 1905 Japanese Ministry of Education's restrictions on Chinese students, Chang was persuaded to forego an education in the United States in order to continue her revolutionary work, and Soumay cut short her own education in order to devote herself to the revolutionary cause. Only after 1911 would Soumay and Chang return to their studies and Ho turn her attention to women's affairs in the Kuomintang.

This personal belief in education for their own futures coincided with Liang's emphasis on education for a "new citizenry" so that once again personal and feminine aspirations coincided with the nation's needs. All these young women attempted to encourage other women to study and become involved in events outside their homes; and in her Shanghai paper, Ch'iu Chin pictured herself as a Boddhisattva leading her "sisters" out of the darkness of ignorance. They also accepted Sun's belief that an educated elite could guide China into regaining her proper position in the world and at an accelerated rate so as to forestall foreign intervention.

For they feared for China's survival in a modern competitive world where weak nations perished or became colonies of the strong. Like their fellow male revolutionaries, these women had accepted the permises of social Darwinism as preached by Yen Fu and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. Their interest in politics had been stirred by their reading of radical student journals and through their contacts with revolutionary elements. Ch'iu's early political interest in the 1898 reform movement and her shame at the foreign occupation of Peking following the Boxer rebellion had led her to Japan and contact with radical student groups. She was caught up in the 1903 movement to send a student army to Manchuria to resist Russia and like many others turned to radical solutions for China's dilemma. Bomb-making and marksmanship replaced political studies until 1905 when Ch'iu joined the T'ung-meng hui and decided to devote herself totally to revolution.

Chang Mo-chun was drawn into the revolutionary movement through her readings of works by Tsou Jung and T'an Ssu-t'ung and radical student journals smuggled into China. Through contacts with Huang Hsing and Ch'iu Chin, she was later persuaded to join the T'ung-meng hui. Soumay Tcheng also joined the increasing number of students accepting the idea that she must devote herself to her country. Her interest in politics was stimulated by viewing China's obviously declining position following the deaths of the Emperor and Dowager Empress in 1908. She accepted the young revolutionary students as the only group capable of saving the country; and thus, she was drawn to Japan and membership in the T'ung-meng hui.

Whereas Ch'iu Chin, Chang Mo-chun, and Soumay Tcheng had shown an early interest in political events in China, Ho Hsiang-ning had displayed no awareness of China's peril until she came into contact with the radical students in Japan. Through personal contacts with Sun Yat-sen, she and her husband had joined the T'ung-meng hui. But unlike the others, Ho continued her art studies in Japan and these, along with her family responsibilities, restricted her revolutionary activities to fund-raising from Japan and later recruiting in Canton. However, all these women shared a hatred of the Manchus as a weak, alien government and this dislike was intensified by their picturing the Manchus as the embodiment of all the worst elements of the Chinese tradition they had rejected.

Their fears for China's survival led these young women revolutionaries to countenance desperate means to save their nation. Self-sacrifice combined with youthfulness and individualism to draw them towards the dramatic act. Being young and impulsive, they accepted simple solutions for complex problems. Ch'iu's predilection for action over theorizing and elaborate planning was paralleled by Soumay Tcheng's attitude towards assassination. Soumay shared a simplistic faith in the young students led by Sun Yat-sen. Seeing no hope for the Ch'ing government, she accepted its overthrowal as the answer to all China's ills.

Ch'iu's attempts at teaching in Huchow in 1906 were unsuccessful as she was too radical for the trustees and some of the students. Unlike Chang Mo-chun, she could not be satisfied writing polemical essays reviling the Manchus for giving China away to the foreigners while impoverishing its people. Even her attempt at publishing a woman's journal

was not satisfying to her and she turned to revolution and assassination as the only way to awaken the Chinese people to their fate before it was too late. Her frustration at the lack of response from the Chinese people helped propel her to commit the dramatic act to startle her people into awareness.

Ch'iu's revolutionary activities also reflected her personal isolation from her family and society. Her poetry was full of melancholy and loneliness for she had cut herself off from her family and her own children and chosen a most difficult road. None of the other women were so alone in their revolutionary struggle and none felt such a strong need to justify their decision. Ch'iu hovered between exaltation in her new freedom, flaunting her Western male dress and military prowess, and despair at realizing her ideals. Thus, she had to prove, primarily to herself, that her decision had been right.

Ho Hsiang-ning had the continuing support and comradeship of her husband during her revolutionary work and also worked within the relative security of Japan and the stimulating atmosphere of revolutionary friends. Also, she was able to combine her family life and her revolutionary career. Soumay Tcheng had faced the opposition of her conservative grandmother during her youthful rebellions certain of passive support from her mother, who had from her earliest days encouraged Soumay to break out of the traditional pattern, get an education, and have her own career. When freed from parental restraints when sent to a boarding school at age thirteen, Soumay adopted Western habits of eating and dressing and determined on study abroad and a career. During her revolutionary adventures

she had the support of her brother and numerous revolutionary associates. And, she was not faced with an open break with her family.

Chang Mo-chun was perhaps the most fortunate of these women as she came to the revolutionary movement with support from her father. Coming from a family where both parents were educated and encouraged her to pursue her studies, Chang was further stimulated by her father's interest in political affairs and nationalism. Through her home she was able to gather information for the T'ung-meng hui and do propaganda work on its behalf.

It was Ch'iu's extreme individualism which led her to proceed with plans for her rebellion even when it became obvious that it would fail. This same individualism combined with her frustrations to propel her into becoming the first female martyr for the revolutionary cause. Ch'iu had identified herself strongly with the traditional Chinese heroes from the Romance of the Three Kingdoms and particularly with Yo Fei. She saw herself as the lone patriot who must single-handedly rescue her country.

Soumay Tcheng displayed a stronger party discipline when she returned to Peking to set up a revolutionary headquarters in her home. She was part of a revolutionary group whereas Ch'iu was taking an individual stand against the Manchus. However, Soumay was also inspired by the dramatic deed and willing to engage in assassination. She was also willing to sacrifice herself for the cause, should that be necessary. Certainly Ho and Chang were as dedicated, they had also taken the T'ung-meng hui oath, but their activities took different directions and they were not under the same emotional strain as Ch'iu. All these revolutionary

activities were accentuated by the fact that they were performed by women at a time when the majority of Chinese women still had their feet bound, married a man chosen by their family, and then closeted themselves in their homes unaware of a world beyond.

The revolutionary students did not start the 1911 revolution nor were they able to provide a centralized leadership or united party to control it once it broke out. The Revolution represented a spontaneous turning away from the Manchu government by various segments of Chinese society motivated by complex ideas of nationalism, anti-Manchuism, and desires for modernization, economic privilege, and personal gain. The 1911 Revolution and its subsequent leadership of gentry and army men was separate from the revolutionary movement of the young students and left them only a minor role to play in Yuan Shih-k'ai's government. These students had served as a catalyst igniting the feelings of frustration against the government and leading other groups to accept the need for change and a new "modern" government.

The period 1902 to 1907 was the time when the radical students made their greatest contribution to the revolutionary movement. Until 1903, the students had not focussed their nationalism against their own government but Russia's decision to delay its scheduled withdrawal of troops from Manchuria and the Manchu government's acquiescence to its demands caused a distinct radicalization of the student movement. The earlier clashes with school and governmental authorities over modern education policies were mild when compared with the virulent anti-Manchu attacks in Su pao and the programs adopted by radical student associations

in Japan. Young female students had their role to play as they set up their own schools in Shanghai and joined radical student groups dedicated to revolution and assassination. When these student groups returned to China, they made contacts with secret societies in the interior and established newspapers and schools to publicize their cause. Students remaining in Japan looked to forming a stronger national organization and accepted Sun Yat-sen as their revolutionary leader. Several female students joined the T'ung-meng hui and helped plan rebellions in central and southern China and publicized their aims through radical papers smuggled into China. However, like their male counterparts, many of the young female students were attracted by government reforms into accepting government positions in education and planning for constitutional government. The new opposition which arose in response to the government's railway policies and reluctance to introduce constitutional government was more moderate, better organized and had deeper bases of support. Thus, it slowly pushed the radical students to the fringes of opposition and assumed leadership after the initial military encounters of the Revolution.

The women who played a role in this student revolutionary movement acted as individuals for there was no organized women's movement until after the Revolution, and they faced tremendous social as well as political opposition to their stand. In traditional China, women were isolated in their homes and restricted from entering into any social relations or activities beyond their families. They were wholly dependent on the male members of their family--father, husband, and son. Having no right to inheritance of property, barred from employment outside the home, and

socially tied to illiteracy--"lack of learning is a credit to a woman's virtue"--they could not function as independent members of society. In the family, women were placed in an inferior, passive, and obedient position and all their Confucian training and teaching was directed towards their acceptance of this role.

Therefore, it is little wonder that there was little response to the first suggestions by Yen Fu, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and other reformers that this old family system was inappropriate to modern China. What is surprising is that there were a few young women willing to respond to this challenge to accept a more active role in their nation. We have already looked at some of the ideas and goals which motivated them. These pioneers of the women's movement appeared as girl students enrolled in modern schools outside their homes, as teachers employed in the new education system, as publicists for the new revolutionary press, as anarchists and assassins, and as uniformed members of the Women's National Army, the Women's Dare-to-Die Corps, and the Women's Assassination Corps, which joined with male troops to overthrow the dynasty.[255]

However, the 1911 Revolution and the subsequent introduction of modern educational and political institutions as well as the Western ideas on sexual equality brought little change in the women's realm. The ending of Manchu rule brought only a change in political structure not in social structure and women who had risked their lives to bring about a revolution

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[255] Roxane Witke, "Woman as Politician in China of the 1920's," Marilyn B. Young, Women in China (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, 1973), p. 34.

found that their personal and social lives were not transformed. Thus, these young women began to turn their attention to the questions of female suffrage and general equality through laws, education, employment, and political participation. Several of the women's armies transformed themselves directly into suffrage societies, such as the Women's Suffrage Alliance.[256] They began to petition the government for constitutional guarantees of equal rights for both sexes. When they were ignored, a number of young women stormed Parliament on March 19, 1912, but they soon disbanded.[257] Thus, the women activists served notice that they expected to play a significant role in the political realm of Republican China.

However, the majority of the women turned to careers in education, journalism, or writing. Others retreated to a more or less traditional family life for the family ties were still strong and many believed that the woman's role was still one of wife and mother. This family life could not be altered overnight and traditional activities and ceremonies remained a part of even the most revolutionary families. Soumay Tcheng describes the hold of the traditional family system on even a "modern young lady".

> This return to the ways of the old, strangely enough exerted a soothing effect on my frayed nerves. I always came out of it refreshed and strengthened. Revolutionary through I was, the thought impressed itself upon my mind that, in some imperceptible but definite manner, the stability and the permanence of the age-old Chinese family system imparted to one a sense of well-being and comforting security.[258]

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[256] Ibid., p. 35.

[257] Chow, May Fourth Movement, p. 258.

[258] Wei, My Revolutionary Years, p. 79.

Personal concerns replaced national interests in the gloomy aftermath of the "Second Revolution" and women turned to their homes or careers until the May Fourth Movement aroused their patriotic ardor once more.

In the pre-Revolution years, the most active support for women's education and emancipation had come not from the women but from young men concerned with building a new modern China and educating a citizenry to participate in it. The early women's movement had grown out of this concern and the activities of the missionaries, and its most active supporters were men like Liang Ch'i-ch'ao who addressed themselves to this problem of reeducating China's populace. For example, the early magazines calling for women's rights were directed towards men as over ninety per cent of China's women were illiterate and the majority were unconcerned with their own emancipation. This problem of arousing China's women to support these campaigns was to carry over into Republican China. Not until the late 1920's did women of China's educated elite begin to assume leadership over an organized women's movement, and even then their impact was slight.

For women like Ning Lao T'ai-t'ai, their lives were focussed on the immediate problems of feeding and clothing themselves and their families.[259] These illiterate peasant women were unaware of a world beyond their village and accepted unquestioningly the traditional woman's role. For

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[259] Ida Pruit, A Daughter of Han (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1967). Ning Lao T'ai-t'ai was born in 1867 to a poor peasant family of P'englai, Shantung province. Her story, as told to Ida Pruit, is one of hardship and hunger but she has accepted it as her "fate".

Ning it was her "fate" that her life was so hard and she never questioned footbinding nor her right to divorce her opium-addicted husband and remarry. Moreover, she was totally unaware of political changes around her--the 1911 Revolution meant only the cutting of the queue.[260] She could never understand her granddaughter's interest in politics and her loyalty was directed totally towards her family with no thought of her country--she could never accept her granddaughter's desire to devote herself to her nation and forego marriage and a family.

This almost total unawareness of the world beyond the home and family was not limited to China's illiterate peasant women. At the other end of the social scale, China's women of the wealthy upper classes still remained closeted in their homes, brought up in the traditional manner, and hearing nothing of happenings beyond the women's quarters. Wong Su-ling writes of her life as a member of a wealth gentry family of approximately eighty members living in the interior of China and her description of the traditional life is so complete that it is hard to realize that she is describing a family living in Republican China of the 1920's.[261]

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[260] Only the Japanese invasion made some impression on her when they arrived in Peking and she could not understand the nationalistic stand taken by her granddaughter. To Ning, if the Japanese were successful in conquering China, it meant that they had the mandate of heaven to be the new Dynasty. She did not even express an awareness that China no longer had a dynasty.

[261] Wong Su-ling and E. H. Cressy, Daughter of Confucius (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1953). Su-ling was born in 1918 to a merchant family living in the interior of China. Although the men in the family had travelled to Hong Kong, Malaya, and Java, family life remained traditional because of the overriding influence of the grandmother.

Footbinding had continued until her eldest uncle had been able to persuade the paternal grandmother to end the custom and only Su-ling and her female servant were allowed an education. Political events did not penetrate the family home, except during the 1926 Nationalist march north to Nanking when robberies were common in their region and disturbed their calm. Su-ling's education in an Anglican mission school was in complete contrast with her family life--two different worlds--but it inspired her to want to continue her education in order to become a teacher and acquire independence and equality--marriage to a man of her choice and her own home without a mother-in-law.

A look at these women's attitudes brings up an important point about female emancipation in China. It had characteristics very unlike the women's suffrage movement in the West. It was not the male populace who provided the stiffest opposition to the anti-footbinding campaigns and education programs but the conservative women themselves. This early women's movement was supported by progressive elements of both sexes and the greatest problem was to reach the female population and interest them in the new opportunities opening up in China.[262] By attacking the old order, the revolutionaries had already begun to weaken some of the legal and social restrictions which bound women to their families, and new education and employment opportunities allowed women to start participating in a society beyond their homes. However, these opportunities were

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[262]Roxane Witke, "Mao Tse-tung, Women and Suicide", China Quarterly, 31 (July - September, 1967), p. 140.

restricted in size and scope. They failed to penetrate into China's interior and the majority of China's peasant families remained unchanged. Even in the cities, many families escaped the impact of the new ideas and conservative North China was far behind the South. Women in the North were particularly hard to mobilize right up until the Japanese invasion and footbinding, which had supposedly been abolished even before the Revolution, remained in isolated areas right into the 1930's.

The traditional family system had isolated women and even set one woman against another through the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law conflicts. Older women feared the changes demanded by the young as a threat to their family ties and security and the traditional wife could not adapt to the new expectations of her society and her "modern" husband. Therefore, during this initial stage of the women's movement in China (1890-1911), there was no organized movement but only actions by individual women which may have momentarily excited the public but actually brought little change to deep-rooted social institutions. These early women could merely plant the seed of change--a seed which would only flourish as part of the mass movements of Communist China.

However, this is not to dismiss their efforts. Responding to the call for women to assume a more responsible role in society these women left the security of their homes and families and entered into an unknown world of education and political activism. Throughout this period, the prime motivation was not a feminist struggle for suffrage and women's rights but a patriotic call to help the Chinese nation in its struggle

against the Manchus and foreigners.[263]

Throughout the twentieth century, the more radical women would always put their nation's needs above particular feminist aspirations. Their fight for women's rights always remained within the context of strengthening the nation. This was true of the May Fourth Movement and its "family revolution", which stood for a complete break with traditional family institutions. Although a few militant feminists formed organizations to propagandize for female rights ranging from participation in government to complete equality between the sexes,[264] the majority of the young students involved in the May Fourth demonstrations were motivated by nationalism. This student movement protesting against imperialism aroused a new generation of girl students to rise up in defence of their country and demand a more active role in building a modern China. This student nationalism would rise in successive protests against Japanese imperialism and would once again play a role in the overthrowal of a Chinese government. And, young women would again play a role in this student movement.

The 1911 revolutionaries did not complete the Chinese revolution, but their efforts were to open the way for later radical elements in the Kuomintang and Chinese Communist Party to lead successively broader and deeper political and social revolutions. The continuity between the

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[263] Witke, "Woman As Politician", p. 33.

[264] See Ibid., pp. 48-49 for details on the Women's Suffrage Organization and the Women's Rights League.

desires of the 1911 revolutionary students and the leaders of the People's Republic of China, especially Mao Tse-tung, is stiking. The problems of developing national strength, freeing the individual to work for his nation's goals, and combatting traditional barriers to modernization are still being attacked by the Communists. The solutions envisaged are different but the frustrations are the same and the basic issues raised by the Maoists in the 1960's are the same questions which were being discussed by the 1911 revolutionaries. Nationalism remains as the core of Chinese efforts at modernization and the desire for China to be recognized as a leading world power in not new. Mao Tse-tung's belief in the power of the individual will to overcome all obstacles is reminiscent of Sun Yat-sen's approach to revolution and the emphasis on revolutionary spirit cultivated by a dedicated elite was basic to all student writings before 1911. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's emphasis on the need to reform the Chinese character has remained basic to all later government attempts at propagandizing and reeducating the populace.

It was the young revolutionary students of the first decade of the twentieth century who began the efforts at modernizing China, which were to become progressively stronger and more radical through the May Fourth movement, the Japanese invasion, and finally the Communist rise to power in 1949. And just as the young students began the political, social, and economic changes, their women began the movement for female emancipation which was to culminate in the new laws of the People's Republic of China. The continuity between the nationalistic aspirations of the 1911 revolutionaries and the hopes of the Maoists is no less striking than the

continuity between the goals of China's young women in these "revolutions". They have attacked the same social barriers to women's freedom to assume a responsible role in the nation's development, but always within their nationalistic aspirations for their country. Nationalism--no other force has been so strong and fundamental in China's development and China's women could not remain unaffected by it.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

THE MULAN POEM[a]

chih chih, once more chih chih.
Mu-lan at doorway weaves.

Do not hear sound of shuttle loom,
Hear only maiden's sighs, moans.

Ask maiden: 'of what do you think?'
Ask maiden: 'What do you now recall?'

Maiden does not dare to think.
Says: 'Nothing do I now recall.

'Saw last night army list,
The Ko Han widely conscripts men.

'Army list ten and two rolls,
Each roll, each roll, bears father's name.

'Honored father has no grown son,
Mu-lan has no elder brother.

'Am willing to prepare, offer price, for saddle-horse,
Will, in place of honored father, march.'

East market bought swift horse,
West market bought trappings, saddle.

South market bought bridle, head-stall,
North market bought long whip.

Dawn, set forth; from honored father, loved mother, went away.
Dusk, passed night at Yellow River edge.

No longer hear honored father, loved mother, calling-daughter sound:
Hear only Yellow River flowing waters plash: swash, swash.

Sunrise leave Yellow River, start:
Sunset reach Black Mountains Peak.

No longer hear honored father, loved mother calling-daughter sound:
Hear only, on Swallow Hills Barbarian horsemen ride: thud, thud.

Pace ten thousand li with weapons-of-war machine,
Cross hill of Frontier Pass as if on wings.

Breath of Dark North clings to gold broadaxe,
Light of Han Country reflects from linked-iron clothes.

Great generals in one hundred battles die,
Strong soldiers in ten years return home.

Returned-home come before Heaven's Son,
In Audience Hall sits Heaven's Son.

For ten and two years stratagems, loyal efforts, have continued,
Above One bestows one hundred, one thousand fiefs.

Ko Han asks what I desire?

'Mu-lan cannot use official rank,
Would borrow bright courser to go one thousand li.

'They send me, "a youth," home to old village.

'Honored father, loved mother, hear daughter has come:
Go out from walled village to meet and escort.

'Younger sister hears elder sister has come:
Within door rearranges make-up and rouge.

'Little brother hears elder sister has come:
Grinds knife rhr, rhr, hurries toward pig and sheep.

'Open my door in Eastern Pavilion
Sit on my bed in Western Room.'

'Take off my fighting days clothes,
Put on my olden days skirt.

'Within door arrage a cloud dead-dress,
Before mirror stick yellow flowers in hair.

'Go outdoors, meet my "fire companions":
Fire companions hesitate, startled.

'Together we marched for ten and two years,
Never knew Mu-lan was a woman young person.'

Foot of male hare pads to Dark North,
Eyes of female hare dart hither, thither.

Two hares run in near-by field,
How know which is male, which is female?

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[a]Florence Ayscough, Chinese Women Yesterday and Today (London: Jonathon Cape, Ltd., 1938), pp. 219-222.

APPENDIX II

MISSION SCHOOLS OPENED FOR CHINESE GIRLS BEFORE 1911

1827 first Christian school for Chinese girls in Malacca

first Christian school for Chinese girls in Penang

1831 first Christian school for Chinese girls in Singapore

1835 first Protestant school for girls in China founded in Macao by Mrs. Gutzlaff

1836 opening of Mrs. Shuck's school for girls in Macao

1840 360 overseas Chinese girls in Christian schools

1842 Mrs. Shuck's school for girls moved to Hong Kong

1844 opening of Miss Aldersey's school in Ningpo

1846 first Protestant school opened in Canton

1851 Northern Baptist school opened in Hong Kong

American Methodist school opened in Foochow

1853 Chinese Congregational Church school opened in Hong Kong--first school established by Chinese Christians

American Presbyterian school opened in Canton

1855 Wesleyan Shu Cheng school opened in Canton

1859 American Methodist boarding school opened in Foochow

1860 Baptist school opened in Swatow

over 110 mission schools opened in the treaty ports

1864 first school opened in Tientsin

1873 Northern Baptist boarding school opened in Swatow

1877 school opened at Shui Hing, an interior station

1879 school opened at Fatshan, an interior station

1881 Woman's Bible Training School opened in Canton

1892 Baptist Mu Kwang school for blind girls opened in Canton

1898 Canton Christian College founded (later Lingnan University)

1899 American Presbyterians opened Kwangtung Medical College for women--(later Hackett Medical College)

1901 Chien Tao school founded in Wuchow

1902 American Presbyterian Turner Training School for nurses opened in Canton

1906 Church Missionary Society opened St. Stephen's Girls College (a middle school) in Hong Kong

North China Union College for Women founded in Peking by Miss Luella Miner (affiliated with Yenching since 1920)

1909 first girl passed the Oxford local exams in Hong Kong

Baptists opened Pei Hsien Women's School in Canton to train bible women

APPENDIX III

CHINA'S EARLY MODERN SCHOOLS, 1862-1900[a]

Year	Name	Nature	Location
1862	Peking Tung Wen Institute	foreign language	Peking
1863	Shanghai Language Institute	foreign language	Shanghai
1864	Kwangtung Tung Wen Institute	foreign language	Canton
1866	Fukien Shipbuilding Academy	shipbuilding	Fukien
1867	Shanghai Mechanic Academy	mechanics	Shanghai
1879	Tientsin Academy of Telegraphy	telegraphy	Tientsin
1880	Tientsin Naval Academy	navy	Tientsin
1884	Tientsin Military Academy	military	Tientsin
1886	Kwangtung Naval Academy	navy	Canton
1889	Pei Yang University	law & engineering	Tientsin
1893	Tsu Chiang Academy	language, science, math & commerce	Wuchang
1894	Hupei Military Academy	military	Hupei
1895	Pei Yang Western Academy	language, science, math & commerce	Tientsin
1896	Nan Yang Public Academy	teacher training, technology & political science	Shanghai
1897	Hunan Modern Academy	public law, history, math & science	Hunan
1898	Peking Imperial University	law, classics, science & five other departments	Peking

[a]Tsang Chiu-sam, Nationalism in School Education in China Since the Opening of the Twentieth Century (Hong Kong: South China Morning Post, Ltd., 1933), p. 32.

APPENDIX IV

STUDENTS ENROLLED IN NON-MISSIONARY SCHOOLS[a]

Year	Total Number of Students	Females	Percentage of Females
1906	468,220	306	.07
1907	883,218	1,853	.21
1908	1,144,299	2,679	.23
1909	1,536,909	12,164	.79
1912	2,933,387	141,130	4.81

[a]Figures based on Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education, quoted in Kao Kuvin-san, "The Progress of Women's Education," China Quarterly, I (March, 1936), p. 18.

APPENDIX V

STRIVE FOR WOMEN'S POWER[a]

We women love our freedom,
Raise a cup of wine to our efforts for freedom;
May Heaven bestow equal power on men, women.
Is it sweet to live lower than cattle?
We would rise up in flight yes! drag ourselves up.
Wash away the humiliation before us, the disgrace,
reddening ears in shame.
If men consent to being bound in longevity as our comrades.
Our hands, white as pure silk, will toil to restore, to
magnify, the rivers, hills of our land.

Former practice was deeply humiliating:
Maidens, young girls were actually mated like cows, mares.
New light dawns on time of illustrious culture.
Man's desire to stand alone, supreme, to enslave us
underlings must be torn up by the roots.
As raw silk is slowly whitened by boiling thus shall we
slowly cultivate wisdom, understanding, learning, study,
Sustaining weight of responsibility on our shoulders,
our heads.
Heroic women of our land shall never see defeat.

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[a]Florence Ayscough, Chinese Women Yesterday and Today (London: Jonathon Cape, Ltd., 1938), p. 143.

APPENDIX VI

HSU HSI-LIN'S CONFESSION[a]

The Manchus have oppressed China for nearly 300 years. Ten years ago I determined that I would, if I could, rid the Empire of these oppressors. I took office as a blind, solely to attempt this task without incurring official suspicion. The false promises made by the officials to give representative Government to China never deceived me, for they are both unable and unwilling to concede this. Indeed, under the Manchus the thing is impossible. Under the Reformers, it can be done effectively. I killed En Min the Governor because he thwarted, all unconsciously, by interfering with the introduction of arms, the completion of the scheme for the overthrow of the present Government. It was my purpose to assassinate first En Ming, then Tuan Fang and then afterwards Teh Liang and Liang Pah. I then intended to seize upon the arsenal and telegraphs. We should then have been isolated, and before notice of the rising had reached Peking, my soldiers would have been marching upon Nanking. My plans have been frustrated. I regret this. Several lives have been sacrificed in the confusion; this was accidental and is also deeply regretted. Others, like Ku Tsing, escaped, who by their treachery to their country are unworthy to live under heaven. My confederates, of whom one is slain, have withheld their real names. They are unwise. I am proud to have mine known. You may execute me, cut off my hands and feet; it is of no consequence, but do not arrest and punish the students. They have no share in the uprising. They are too young and inexperienced

to share in this great enterprise, and those who followed me into the arsenal did it under coercion. Therefore do not involve those who are guiltless. My purpose was not supported by Sun Yat-sen. He did not agree with me nor assist me in the assassination of Governor En Min. Future ages shall ring with my glory and good fortune.

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[a]An anonymous pamphlet about Hsu Hsi-lin quoted by Rev. C. Bone, "The Anhui Revolution," in North China Herald, LXXXVII: 2126 (May 11, 1908), pp. 371-373.

APPENDIX VII

AUTUMN WIND[a]

Autumn wind rises hsi-i-i one hundred grasses yellow,
Autumn wind by nature violent, vindictive,
Forces myriad flowers to bend their heads awry.
Help me, Autumn chrysanthemum, to brave Autumn frost.
Autumn chrysanthemums are rooted in the yellow seed:
The chung, the lou, lift folded petals, reach the windy clouds.
Autumn moon, a mirror round, reflects its splendor from the stream.
One surge clear of ripples dares to heave, to move:
Last night wind, wind, rain, rain--Autumn
Autumn frost, Autumn dew, heart suppresses Autumn grief.

Green, green are tender leaves which blown, fear to fall.
Circling tree-tops, Hu vultures ominously croak;
Chilly, soughing, T'ang passes, Autumn thoughts shoot forth like arrows.
Beyond frontiers; high Autumn; Hu horses fat, well-fed.
Brave General, enraged, summons yellow gold shields.
Gold shields come; extend like clouds; fight Hu dogs.
Brave General laughs much, calls sons of Han.
In Yellow Dragon Land, they drink deep draughts--
the wine of liberation!

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[a]Florence Ayscough, Chinese Women Yesterday and Today (London: Jonathon Cape, Ltd., 1938), pp. 170-171.

APPENDIX VIII

SONG OF PRECIOUS KNIFE[a]

Han household Palace pillars stand in slanting sunset-light;
Fifty Centuries in age--old country now is dead.
Deep, deep, sunk in sleep, several hundred years.
The folk, whose ears shame should redden, unrealizing
perform tasks of slaves.
I think of early ancestors who lived at Hsun Yuan,
Went forth, rose and wheeled, settled in K'un Lun hills:
Spread--over the earth, reached from Yellow Stream
to Long River.
Their great knives quickly conquered Central Plain.
Grievous cries sounded from Plum-Blossom Hill--
what could be done?
In Emperor's City, thorns, weeds, buried the bronze
Camels.
Many times turn head gaze toward Capital's Glory;
In ruined country pitiful songs fill air, moans resound,
silent tears flow;
In North, from eight countries, allied soldiers
Seize rivers, take hills; other regions, traitors bestow
as gifts.
White Seed comes from West. Ring warning bell!
To me our Leader presents a gold-washed sword.
Possessing this my heart is full of courage, pride;
To redden its steel, is now the thought which rules me,
One hundred times ten thousand skulls are but so
many feathers.
When at leisure on bathing day, will gaze, a hundred
times, on sword's precious light.
Inadequate my life, how rise to greater heights?
I take an oath: 'Desire in death to find life's road.'
Within our frontiers, harmony, peace, depend on armor,
weapons
Ching K'o, guest of Ch'in Prince, whom he was sent to
kill, took his dagger, wrapped in a map, but the
handle protruded.
He struck one blow, did not succeed, was seized,
lost his life.
It matters not attempt failed, essence of evil Prince
was startled.
I would lead by the hand people of my ancestral
realm:

In every corner of Yu's country seed of slaves intrudes.
Fellow-countrymen, fellow-countrymen, your hearts
are dead! What shall be done?
I seize in hand hair-pencil, write 'Song of Precious
Knife'.

Precious Knife, your song strengthens my liver, my gall,
Revives souls in this dead land, calls on the multitude
to rise.
Precious Knife, and my best self,--who joins our band?
Am done with friends, done with foes but
Do not regard you, foot of steel, as a thing, lacking courage:
To save country, rare achievement, I rely on you to
fulfill.
Consider Cosmos a furnace, Yin, Yang, its fuel,
hsi-i-i-i.
Will collects steel from Six Islets of world.
Fuse, cast, put forth a thousand times ten thousand
Precious Knives hsi-i-i-i-i,
Make clear, pure, our sacred land.
Connecting, an unbroken thread, with burning, burning,
awe-inspiring flame hsi-i-i-i of our ancestor
the Yellow Emperor;
Will wash clean unnatural shame which for a thousand,
a hundred, years has sullied our annals!

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[a]Florence Ayscough, Chinese Women Yesterday and Today (London: Jonathon Cape, Ltd., 1938), pp. 171-173.

APPENDIX IX

"A VICTIM OF A GOVERNOR'S PANIC"[a]

"The following is a short sketch of the unfortunate Madame Ts'in Ch'ing, late teacher and Vice-Directoress of the Mingtao Girls' School in Shaohsing, who was, the other day, executed by a panic-stricken Governor and his henchman, the prefect Kuei of that city, without the least jot of incriminating evidence to justify even imprisonment, much less death. Madame Ts'in Ch'ing was a native Shanyinhsien, Chekiang, and at her death was twenty-eight years of age. Her father had been at one time a prefect of Honan, and she herself was married at an early age to a scion of one of the most honourable and wealthy families of that province. The late lady's husband is still living and is in Peking as a third-class secretary in one of the great departments of State. During the first year of marriage the young couple were most affectionate towards each other and lived happily together. She bore him two sons and subsequently taking advantage of the railway facilities of the province went to Japan to study. Whilst there she apparently imbibed very advanced views and wrote her husband many passionate letters on reform. The husband replied by entreating her to be moderate in her ideas and this was the rift in the lute which finally led to a disavowal by the husband and a mutual agreement of separation between the two. Whilst in Japan the year before last it happened that the Japanese government desired to make certain changes concerning the registration, etc. of Chinese students in that country. It will be remembered a meeting was called amongst the students

to protest against the measure. There Madame Ts'in Ch'ing made an impassioned speech before nearly 8,000 students and by her eloquence carried the vast audience almost off their feet. The applause given her was magnificent and there and then the students vowed that they would return at once to China if their protests were not attended to. On her return to China she inaugurated a "Woman's Paper" in Shanghai. Her father died a few years ago, and her mother only last January. Her eldest brother is a substantive district magistrate in an adjoining province, while her second elder brother remains at home to take charge of family property. Both of them have been against their sister's politics and she frequently received letters upbraiding her for her advanced views. She also inaugurated a gymnasium in Shaohsing and assisted in starting the Tatung School of that city to the support of which she subscribed out of her private means $2,000. During the annual summer examinations and exercises at this school last year Madame Ts'in Ch'ing gave an eloquent address before the school, Kuei the prefect of Shaohsing, and subsequently the unfortunate lady's executioner, also being present. In commemoration of the speech of Madame Ts'in Ch'ing, prefect Kuei presented an adulatory tablet to her praising her eloquence. She received a fair Chinese education and was fairly well acquainted with Japanese and English. Her purse was free to all deserving students and she was a good horsewoman. Such was her fame as a conversationalist throughout China that many Chinese scholars of high degree and attainments went specially to Shaohsing to call upon her and have speech with her--thus ruthlessly trampling down the ancient custom of no social intercourse between the sexes outside immediate

relatives. This unfortunate lady was no admirer or adherent of the Anti-Monarchists of Sun Yat-sen. As a matter of fact, although advanced in views in regard to the political progress of her country she was no revolutionary in the sense of that word, at all.

When arrested by prefect Kuei she was entirely ignorant, and indeed innocent, of the charges which were brought against her. Asked whether she, a woman, was an Associate Director of the Tatung School, she replied, "Why, your Honour, were you not yourself present during a speech I made in that very school last summer, and did not your Honour of your own initiative bestow upon me a gilded tablet upon which were engraved words eulogizing me for my share in starting this school? It was because of the countenance your Honour gave to my feeble endeavors that encouraged me to do more for my native city." Asked whether she corresponded with Hsu Hsi-lin, the reply was that she knew Hsu Hsi-lin merely as a fellow citizen and that she had only met him once, which was in Shanghai. She had never corresponded with Hsu Hsi-lin; but if any letters had been discovered purporting to that effect they were forgeries.

Question--Where is your husband?

Answer--We have been separated for many years and I know nothing of him; either whether he is alive or dead at this moment.

Question--Have you married again?

Answer--Having left my first husband for principle's sake, why should I seek another?

Producing some lines of poetry written and composed by his victim, Kuei asked her if there was any revolutionary sentiment in them. The

reply was that there was none; although following the literary fashions of the day there were certain lines making fun of the ignorance and the timidity of the powers that be in relation to granting a constitution and such like-needed reforms and that she was not the only one who had done this. Finally, in order to get her to 'confess' and give the names of her 'fellow-conspirators' the heroic lady was tortured in several ways, but all to no effect. She had none, she said, and she was perfectly loyal. 'You may kill me for crimes of which I am both innocent and ignorant. But the day will come to prove that I am innocent and that you all will be sorry for what you have done.' Having said this much the officials could get nothing more from her. She quietly obeyed when told to sit or stand, but she refused all food. The same evening of her arrest the unfortunate lady was executed. Truth must out and it has been discovered that absolutely nothing incriminating was discovered against Madame Ts'in Ch'ing. She was simply a victim at the hands of Governor Chang Tseng-yang at Hangchow, who, panic-stricken at possible revolution in Chekiang province, ordered the lady's summary decapitation merely on the recommendation of the prefect Kuei, who, having eulogized the lady in her days of popularity, deserves, therefore, the same fate. As a miserable excuse this man tries now to saddle Madame Ts'in Ch'ing with the mob emeute at Cheng-hsien the other day, which we may state was quieted as soon as the additional taxes were taken off. All the principal members of the native Press now demand the execution not only of prefect Kuei but also of Governor Chang Tseng-yang. A Hangchow dispatch now states that Governor Chang Tseng-yang has asked to be relieved of his

Governorship probably because he knows that his recent actions will bring about a strong movement against him throughout the country and that the censors are already getting to work to call him to account."

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[a]"A Victim of a Governor's Panic," North China Herald, LXXXII: 2085 (July 26, 1907), pp. 204-205.